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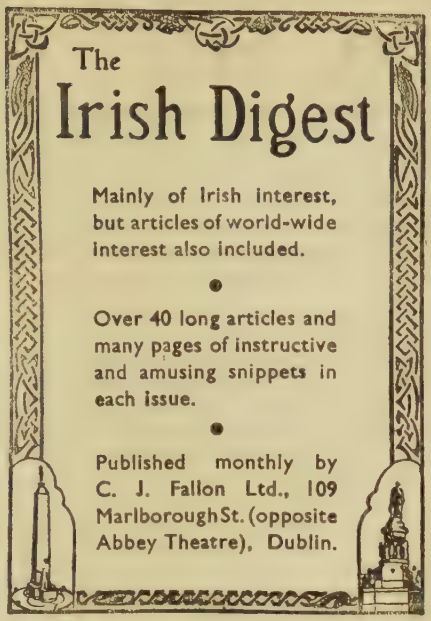
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CENTENARY OF THE DISCOVERY OF QUATERNIONS

BY REV. PROFESSOR P. J. MACLAUGHLIN, D.SC.

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ON the afternoon of the sixteenth day of October 1843, passers-by remarked the unusual behaviour of a stoutish gentleman at a canal bridge near Dublin. Some recognised him as Sir William Rowan Hamilton from the Dunsink Observatory, Ireland's greatest mathematician. He had been walking quietly along the canal bank in the company of his wife. Suddenly his manner changed. He hurried to the bridge and whipped out a penknife, and with boyish enthusiasm scratched strange symbols on the masonry. Sir William had good cause for excitement : there had just come to him in a flash the solution of a problem that had been haunting him for fifteen years. The symbols contained the secret of quaternions, a new kind of number. By his unphilosophical but very human conduct the Irish mathematician was celebrating the birth of an extraordinarily powerful method of calculation. Hamilton was then thirty-eight and he was to spend the greater part of his remaining years in developing the new geometrical algebra. He believed it would constitute his highest title to scientific fame. Not all modern mathematicians accept this view. There are two opinions about the place of quaternions in the hierarchy of Hamilton's discoveries. One school is impressed by the fruitful application of Hamilton's optical ideas in the wave mechanics of de Broglie and Schrödinger and puts Hamilton's Characteristic Function on the highest pedestal. This " myopic " school is preoccupied with the immediate problems of physics and regrets that the Irish analyst did not abandon his expansionist policy in quaternions and devote the time saved to his system of Principal Relations. The other school points out that the Hamiltonian method in optics and dynamics had to wait a century before receiving due appreciation and exploitation. It believes that the full power and beauty of quaternions will shine forth on the occasion of some future development in physical science. There is full agreement on one point. In the hundred years that have passed since the discovery of quaternions, the fame of Hamilton as a creative mathematician has steadily grown. Modern developments in science increasingly confirm the judgment that he was one of the most original and most fruitful minds of the nineteenth century.

I.

The somewhat meretricious title of quaternion which Hamilton gave to his new algebra reminds us that Hamilton was a linguist and classical scholar as well as a mathematician. He carried off the highest honours both in classics and in mathematics when he was an undergraduate in the University of Dublin. (Dublin at that time, unlike Oxford and Cambridge, gave equal prominence to the classical and mathematical traditions). Etymologically the word quaternion, like the Latin word from which it is derived, means four. It is found with that meaning in the Acts of the Apostles and in Milton. Technically it denotes a set of four numbers. An example of such a set is the location of an aeroplane in flight by means of numbers representing the time, the latitude, the longitude and the height of the machine above ground level. Hamilton attached great importance to mathematical entities that can be specified by a group of four numbers. He regarded such entities as fundamental elements in the mathematical description of the physical world. To some extent his quaternion is an anticipation of " event " in modern relativity theory. It involves " a synthesis of the conceptions of space and time. Time is said to have one dimension and space to have three dimensions. The mathematical quaternion partakes of both these elements and it involves a reference to four dimensions." Hamilton foreshadowed the same idea in his sonnet on quaternions and their mystic resemblance to the tetractys of Pythagoras :—

> " And how the One of Time, of Space the Three
> Might in the chain of Symbol girdled be."

The notions of space and time played an important part in the genesis of quaternions, as we shall see later. A less metaphysical factor was Hamilton's intense patriotism, which he inherited from a father who had spent his talents and substance in serving one of the United Irishmen, Hamilton Rowan. Hamilton owed one of his names to his father's regard for the Irish patriot. From his earliest years the Dublin prodigy had a powerful ambition to do something for the renown of his native country. As his genius for mathematics revealed itself—it did so when he was quite young : Dr. Brinkley remarked of him before he was twenty : " This young man, I do not say will be, but is, the first mathematician of the age "—he set his mind towards a great invention in mathematical science, confident in his powers to win for Ireland a high place in the history of scientific culture. His ambition was sharpened by the desire to give a lead to British mathematicians and to stir them to emulate the achievements of continental mathematicians. At the turn of the century exact science languished in Great Britain. In Cambridge, the very

stronghold of mathematical tradition, where Newton had been a professor, the state of the science was discreditable. The University had settled down to the worship of Newton instead of to the study of nature. The mathematicians followed Newton in his neglect of differential notation in the Calculus. They stuck diehard fashion to the dots of Newton and ridiculed the notation and ideas of Leibnitz. (As one wit put it, Cambridge mathematicians were in a state of *dot*-age). The English chauvinism of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries resulted in the major developments of the infinitesimal calculus being made by the contemporary mathematicians of the continent—the Bernouillis, Euler, Clairault, Delambre, Lagrange, Laplace, Legendre. Jacobi's celebrated saying was then true. When asked who was the greatest of living mathematicians in England, his reply was : " There is none." To give a stronger impulse to exact science, progressive spirits founded the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1831. Hamilton attended from the very first meeting as chief representative of Irish science, and he took the leading part in the mathematical and physical section. At the general meetings he stood out as a most notable personality, a giant among pygmies, and he reflected great honour on the country of his birth by the exuberance and brilliance of his genius and by his powers as a scientific orator. After the discovery of quaternions he read papers on the subject to the members of the Association. It was in no braggart spirit that he used to say : " At the beginning of the century people read French mathematics, but by the end of it they will be reading Irish mathematics." At an early stage he formed the conviction that he would reach Irish mathematics through the channel that had led Napier to logarithms and Newton to fluxions—meditation on the nature of time.

II.

The chief elements in the historical background of quaternions are motion, number, symbol and the nature of algebra. For half a century before Hamilton's great discovery, mathematicians played with the idea of introducing motion into geometry. The idea was not entirely new. It is to be found in a shadowy form in the Cartesian geometry of the seventeenth century. By motion was not meant anything material, any more than actual superposition of figures is demanded in Euclid's synthetic geometry. It was rather a mental transference which generated a line by motion from a point so that the line was conceived as having direction as well as magnitude or size. Such a directed line (an arrow) could represent a directed quantity or vector, say a displacement or a force. In this vector geometry it was easy to find a meaning for the operation of adding vectors together, but efforts to find a satisfactory meaning for multiplication

failed. It was suspected that multiplication might be connected with the other kind of motion, motion round a point, but the connection baffled mathematicians until Hamilton solved the problem by his quaternions.

Important developments in the concept of number took place mainly as a result of the achievements of continental mathematicians in algebra. These developments enriched the connotation of number; but they lacked a strict scientific basis, and conservative mathematicians condemned the new ideas. The Cambridge mathematicians, Maseres and Frend, attacked algebraists for talking of numbers less than nothing; of multiplying a negative number into a negative number and thus producing a positive number; of there being two roots to every quadratic equation; of a number being imaginary. They were inconsistently silent about the bold origin of algebra in the rule of Diophantus that minus into minus makes plus. In 1830 Peacock, aware that Argand and others had given geometrical representations of both negative and imaginary numbers, tried to put algebra on a strict logical basis. He founded the symbolic school of mathematicians to which Gregory, de Morgan and the Cork professor, Boole, belonged. He asserted that algebra consisted of two parts, the one arithmetical and the other symbolic. He arrived at a principle of the permanence of equivalent forms (or equivalent algebraic expressions such as (a—b)c = ac—bc: the principle states that the equality holds for *all* values of a, b and c) which raised a big question in the theory of knowledge—namely, the validity of passing from particular truths to general truths. D. F. Gregory, a young member of the Cambridge school, laid stress, not on the permanence of equivalent forms, but on the permanence of certain formal laws. By formal law he meant an arbitrarily chosen relation to which the algebraic symbols must be subject. This new theory of algebra as the science of symbols and of their laws of combination was carried to its logical issue by De Morgan, and his teaching on the subject is still followed generally by English algebraists, except in the treatment of infinite series.

According to De Morgan[1] the first stage in the evolution of algebra is common arithmetic. The next stage is universal arithmetic, where letters take the place of ordinary numbers. In the third stage, which is single algebra, a letter is a symbol and it may denote a positive or a negative number. The symbol is adequately represented by a vector-line (or arrow) of appropriate length: drawn in one direction the line represents positive numbers; drawn in the opposite direction it represents negative numbers. The symbols and numbers of single algebra are one-dimensional. Most modern school-boys know that imaginary numbers arise in the solution of quadratic equations and give birth to complex numbers of

[1] *Trigonometry and Double Algebra* (London, 1849), Trigonometry, dealing with lengths and angles, is a dialect of double algebra, the language of the complex number (*See* text). Double algebra is also the natural mathematical idiom for describing alternating currents.

the form $a + ib$, where a and b are real numbers and i is the square root of minus one. These numbers are " impossibles " in single algebra, but they constitute the characteristic symbol of double algebra, the fourth stage of development. In this stage the symbol denotes a portion of a line in a fixed plane. The symbol is double because it involves two specifications, namely, length and angle (the angle is that formed between the line representing " a " and the line representing the complex number. The complex number is represented by the hypothenuse of the right-angled triangle whose other two sides are represented by " a " and " b ") The symbols and characteristic numbers of double algebra are two-dimensional. If De Morgan's theory is correct, the next stage ought to be triple algebra, in which the characteristic symbol would be three-dimensional and would be represented by part of a line in space. De Morgan and others tried hard to find a third term which, when added to a complex number, would correspond to such a line, but nothing came of their efforts till the question was taken up by Hamilton. Hamilton spent many years in inventing algebraic couplets, triplets, triads and sets before the solution presented itself in quaternions. Made wise by Hamilton's discovery, we know that at least part of De Morgan's theory is erroneous, that the symbol of double algebra does not denote a length and an angle, but a change of length (Hamilton's *tensor*) and a change of angle (Hamilton's *versor*). The angles of the double symbol are confined to one plane. When the plane is altered, two fresh numbers are needed to specify the position of the representative line in space. Hence the fifth stage in the evolution of algebra is not a triple but a quadruple algebra with a four-dimensional symbol or quaternion as its characteristic.

In elaborating his theory De Morgan made an inventory of the laws of algebra. One of these laws is called the commutative law. It is exemplified in addition by $a + b = b + a$ and in multiplication by $ab = ba$. It is unfortunate for the symbolic school that in universal arithmetic a^b is not equal to b^a, for then the commutative law would be general. Why does not the symbolist give full scope to the commutative law? Hamilton said the symbolist could not, because the foundations of algebra are, after all, real not symbolic, material not formal. The formalist aims at keeping strictly to the symbolic rules of common algebra and he lets meaning come if it will. Hamilton rejected this theory, not altogether out of sheer Irish individualism and natural repugnance to herd-thinking, but because he was for interpretation—interpretation on the grand scale. Hamilton was no mere wonderful technician stupendously efficient in the manipulation of esoteric symbols. He was more than a prodigious calculating machine. He believed that mathematics had its roots in nature and was, as a science, one of many windows looking out on reality. He believed there was a philosophy at the back of his science. He saw algebra as a part of mathematics and mathematics as a part of human

knowledge. The parts must be rationally related to the whole structure. Hamilton was particularly impressed by the existence of rational law in nature and by the contrast it made with empiric law. The latter is simply a statement of experiential results lacking theoretical basis : it is purely inductive and cannot be inferred from first principles : it states observed constancies without being capable of supplying reasons for them : the constancies are non-logical. A rational law is deducible from axioms and cannot lead to logical inconsistencies : it compels the mind to accept it once the terms of the law are fully understood. Knowledge of such a law cannot be gained by experience, for a rational law is true not merely here and now, but everywhere and for all time. A statement may hold good for the first forty natural numbers and fail for the forty-first. But the propositions " the three angles of a plane triangle together equal two right angles " and " even and odd numbers succeed each other alternately ad infinitum " have the characters of necessity and universality. It was by seeking the reason for these characteristics of rational law that Hamilton was led to his theory of algebra. General truths in mathematics are instances of rational law. In Hamilton's opinion, a theory of algebra which cannot account for the existence of this kind of law is imperfect. A complete theory should also be able to account for the unity of mathematical science.

III.

Hamilton appears to have been satisfied with the explanation of rational law which he found in the philosophy of Kant. According to the German philosopher, whom Hamilton esteemed as an able geometrician, space and time are *a priori* forms of the mind. They are two mind-moulds through which our knowledge of rational law is obtained. It is these moulds that impart the characters of necessity and universality. The moulds are pure forms of the sensibility so that rational law has its origin in sensuous intuition, not in empiric induction. It is not clear that Hamilton abandoned entirely the objective space and time of Newton in accepting this subjective theory, or that he knew of the common sense *via media* in scholastic philosophy. His philosophy is not anywhere systematically stated. But he carried Kant's doctrine to its logical issue so far as the duality of subject matter of mathematics is concerned. He based his argument on passages like the following in Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason :* " Time and space (wrote Kant) are two sources of knowledge from which various *a priori* synthetical cognitions can be derived. Of this pure mathematics gives a splendid example in the case of our cognitions of space and its various relations. As time and space are both pure forms of sensuous intuition, they render synthetical propositions *a priori* possible." Hamilton reasoned : mathematics is the science of order with subordinate

ideas of shape and number : since geometry deals with shape and is the science of pure space, algebra, the science of number in its most general form, must be the science of pure time. This conclusion involves a theory of algebra as the science of number together with an equivalence of number and time.

In 1834 Hamilton published an account of his theory of algebra as the science of pure time. It did not convince his fellows, who at once put their finger on the weak point of the theory as then developed. If algebra is based on a one-dimensional element such as time it is difficult to account for a complex number derived from the imaginary roots of a quadratic equation. To get over the difficulty, Hamilton invented a theory of algebraic couples which clean-bowled mathematicians. There lived at Edinbrugh some sixty years ago a mathematician named Sang. He computed the most elaborate tables of logarithms the world has ever heard of. On reading Hamilton's theory of algebraic couples Sang said : " Either Hamilton is crazy or I am crazy." Months afterwards he was heard repeating the phrase, " I am not crazy."[1]

His theory of algebraic couples being incomprehensible to other mathematicians and not fully satisfactory to himself, Hamilton made fresh attempts to give algebra the full development of the conceptions of arithmetic. He did much good work for various branches of mathematics as he invented in turn triples, triads and sets, all under inspiration of the idea that algebra is based on the intuition of pure time. Many peaks seemed within his reach and proved inaccessible. Somehow, somewhere there was an obstacle and no mathematician of the age could even guess where it lay. Hamilton discovered the obstacle when he discovered the secret of quaternions. The obstacle lay in the commutative law of multiplication, exemplified by $ab = ba$ necessarily and universally. Hamilton showed against the formalist school, which set a bound to the march of arithmetic, that the commutative law must be given up if the science of number is to advance. He showed that vectors and four-dimensional numbers are not subject to the law. He showed they are " anti-commuting "—*i.e.*, the order of their multiplication affects the value of the product. Much of the prodigious progress made in mathematical science in the last hundred years is due to this discovery of Hamilton's. Vector analysis, the powerful tool of modern mathematical physics, has cashed in on consequences drawn from it. Attempts to solve the chief problem of modern physics accept it as axiomatic. Few admit having understood the theory which led Hamilton to its discovery. It should be worth while trying to state in comprehensible terms such a fertile theory, which may again yield fruit if cultivated by some of our young mathematicians in the Chair of Hamilton of the Dublin Institute.

[1] We now know that Hamilton's theory of algebraic couples was the remote beginning of the numerous abstract algebras so fashionable to-day.

IV.

The keyword in elucidating the theory of algebra as the science of pure time is, I think, order. Hamilton defines mathematics as the science, not of quantity, but of two kinds of order. Algebra, extended arithmetic, is the science of number-order. Number-order is derived from the concept of pure time. Symbols, such as those representing addition and multiplication, etc., are operations on numbers, and are secondary elements that must be interpreted in accordance with the meaning of number. (This is against the symbolic school). Primarily number is purely serial, without any quantitative or " value " connotation whatever. It is not a magnitude. Serial number must therefore be clearly distinguished from metric-number. Metric-number may be discontinuous, as in group-number (number of individuals in a group) or continuous, as in spatial-number (which is of two kinds, one linear and the other angular). Serial-number is non-spatial and non-metric, and our knowledge of it is got through our awareness of the serial instants of consciousness which reveals to us the progressive character of pure time. Pure time, through the instants of consciousness (or as a mind-mould), is the source of our concept of serial-number. Pure time is a continuous progression in one dimension. So is serial-number. There is a before and after instant indefinitely close to any given instant of pure time. It is possible to intercalate an indefinite number of other instants between any two given instants. Similarly, serial-number is dense and without gaps : it can be applied equally well to ordering the points on a line or to ordering the members in a group. Irrational numbers and limits of convergent series have obvious interpretations in this theory. The instant of pure time, in itself an ideal, is the perfect type of mathematical limit. It is of duration shorter than any assignable duration. Serial number is non-metric or non-quantitative ; and two serial numbers, like two specified instants of time, entail merely a sense of before and after, but no sense of greater and less, of higher or lower rank, or of superiority of one element over other. The elements in serial-number need not suffer from any inferiority complex. Serial-number is non-metric because of the very character of pure time from which it derives. Pure time being continuous is not composed of units which may serve to measure it. The parts of pure time are necessarily successive and cannot be juxtaposed. (The representation of time by a line may therefore be misleading). It is of interest to note that a slightly degenerate form of serial-number is being used with much success in statistical studies and in experimental psychology (for instance in the ranking of individuals by their " intelligence-scores ") and has given rise to a new mathematics of ordered succession.[1]

[1] *See* " Experimental Psychology " by Rev. J. L. King, S.J., in *Religion and Science.* (Burns & Oates, 1940).

While pure time is continuous, we recognise as indivisible units of time the mathematical instant and the psychological instant. The latter is the shortest duration of which we can have consciousness. Group number is based on the psychological instant of consciousness regarded as a unit (with ultimate reference to the mathematical instant) and on one-to-one correspondence between the members of a group and the serial instants of consciousness. The idea of magnitude is derived from the longer or shorter duration required to exhaust the members of the group. Thus progressively longer time-intervals occur in the implicit correspondences " one," " one and one," " one and one and one." This leads to the generation of the series of natural numbers, a series of serial terms in which each term is generated by adding unity (corresponding to a unit of consciousness) to the preceding term. The symbols of serial number may now be paired with the natural numbers. In support of this theory it may be pointed out that primitives on being asked " how many ? " do not answer " three " but " one and one and one." In a later stage of development this is accompanied by ticking off the first, second and third fingers of a hand (the ordinal numbers being here understood as purely serial and devoid of hierarchical signification) and saying " one, two, three." Hamilton elaborated the method of one-to-one correspondence in his method of algebraic pairing which guides and unifies the extension of number domain. Group-number is of its nature discontinuous. Composed of individual units it is inappropriate to continuous magnitude. The attempt to apply group-number to geometry caused the first great crisis in the history of mathematics and led Pythagoras to the discovery of irrational numbers. Pythagoras found that the length of a diagonal of a square of unit side is $\sqrt{2}$, and he concluded that numbers and geometry do not mix. In the earliest form of algebra, Diophantine Analysis, only group-number solutions of equations are admitted. It is now recognised that confusion between group-number and continuous magnitude is responsible for some of our troubles in quantum theory.

Continuous-number is proximately derived from consciousness of sensation or of feeling. In awareness of a sensation we distinguish a starting-instant, a finishing-instant and a lastingness or duration. This duration of sensation is inextricably interwoven with the essence of pure time—namely, continuous existence or progression without possible gaps or solution of continuity. Finite duration of sensation, which is necessarily linked with finite time-interval, originates our idea of magnitude and of continuous-number. (This may be the reason for confusion between the latter and group-number, which also originates in duration, but in a different way, corresponding to a different reality). Experience and memory (which enables us to juxtapose sensations and their durations in the field of consciousness) provide groups of sensations, and a comparison of their durations originates the idea of inequality of durations, with

ultimate reference to inequality of pure time-intervals. An ordering of unequal durations follows, and serial-number is adequate for the purpose—a sense of " greater," with its correlative " less," being now attached to the " before " and " after " symbols of serial-number. Continuous-number is an ordering of the " muchness " of durations, while group-number is an ordering of the " manyness " of discrete durations. The universality of application of the number-concept is due to its origin in duration, common to all our experiences.

To see how continuous-number, derived from duration, serves to measure extensive magnitudes such as space-intervals, we must consider another aspect of time. Pure time, the flow of the ever-present now, is necessarily conceived as a constant flow. Time in itself cannot be conceived as accelerated or turned into a " slow-motion " camera. It is a necessary uniform flow always existing at the back of changes in consciousness. This uniform flow, which is one-dimensional and one-way, is the source of the idea of mental transference in pure mathematics, whereby *uniform* movement from a point in a fixed direction generates a vector or, less correctly, portion of a straight line. The size of a vector is made known to us through the greater or less time spent in generating it. Similarly, the magnitude of an angle is revealed by the time needed to generate it by uniform motion round a point. Continuous-number based on duration is thus apt for measuring both space-intervals and time-intervals. In physics, simply because the parts of space co-exist, space-interval or extension is measured by an arbitrary extension conventionally taken as a standard. (The standard is not a unit in the strict sense, for it is itself usually divisible). The parts of time cannot co-exist, and time cannot be measured by itself. The difficulty is overcome by measuring time-interval or duration through space-interval thanks to motion, which is a synthesis of the two. Physics reverses the procedure of pure mathematics, where extension is measured through duration, again thanks to their union in motion. Motion is not a mixture of space and time. It is a species of movement, the idea of which is derived from changes in consciousness. Motion is a peculiarly intimate union of space and time, and like psychological movement, it is an atomic concept, in itself irreducible and undefinable. It is through motion that continuous-number serves to measure all manner of extensive magnitude, whether spatial or temporal.

The relation between continuous-number and motion leads to a fit explanation of negative continuous numbers. They are not interpreted by choosing a point on a line and saying : " points to the right represent positive numbers and points to the left represent negative numbers." This is a conventional representation and not an interpretation. Nor are they interpreted by a backword flow of time. Regress of time is a phantasy, not a reality. It would correspond to our field of consciousness being

full of future experiences that vanish to nil as time regresses.[1] The parts of time cannot be reversed (" Time marches on "), and our interpretations must be based on reality. Hamilton here quietly drops Kant and assigns objective value to the ideas of space and time. He assumes that the order of our perceptions has no foundation but the order which exists among things themselves. In Hamilton's view, the various kinds of number revealed to us by the processes of algebra must correspond to something in the real world from which the data of the science, quantitative aspects of real order, are derived. Negative continuous-numbers are interpreted, not through lines or phantasy, but through motion and vectors. Every vector has a conjugate. The vector, generated by motion from a point, has a definite direction. The conjugate has the opposite direction, but is otherwise identical with the vector. It is generated by an exactly opposite motion in which the parts of space are traversed in the reverse order in pure progressive time. A vector can be pictured as an arrow in space. The arrow, reversed end for end, represents the conjugate vector. Each vector is conjugate to the other. Running a cinematograph film backwards is a pure space reversal in ordinary flowing time. It is conjugate to running it the right way. A negative continuous-number is the conjugate of a positive continuous-number. Their relation or ratio is expressed by the symbol " minus one," whose fundamental meaning is that every motion has a reverse or conjugate, and that the two motions are polar, one supposing the other. This is the correct interpretation of De Morgan's symbol of single algebra. Negative continuous-numbers have the same basis in reality as positive numbers, and they are equally real. This basis is the distinction that exists between two exactly equal but oppositely-directed movements, and refers to the two ways in which the same parts of space can be traversed—forwards and backwards. The same underlying basis is the ground of the distinction between positive and negative charges of electricity, and the laws of attraction and repulsion of electrified bodies are a physical equivalent of the rules of combination of plus and minus signs in algebra. We do not observe attraction or repulsion of electrified bodies. We observe movements or experience resistances (material movements) which we anthropomorphize into attractions and repulsions.

V.

Through motion continuous-number becomes applicable to geometry. Pure geometry is static, and the science of order among shapes can develop independently of the concept of number, as in projective geometry. The pure geometrician sees form as eternally existing: his circles are ever

[1] Cf. H. Dingle: *Through Science to Philosophy*. Oxford, 1937.

perfect and his straight lines are infinitely extended in space. Time, in the sense of duration, is necessary for the generation of his forms, and this is the basis of analytical geometry, which is algebra applied to geometry. Historically, pure geometry had its origin in experiment, in the empiric rules of Egyptian surveyors and pyramid-builders, who found that certain ideas worked. So too, algebra began with mercantile arithmetic. The science was conceived when subtraction was given an existence independent of addition by symbolizing the commercial truism that " cancelling a debt makes the debtor just so much richer." Algebraists took their cue from tradesmen and applied group-number to geometrical problems. A crucial point in the evolution of the science occurred when it was proved by strict logic that every quadratic equation must have two roots. There followed test cases. One of them has already been referred to. It is exemplified by $x^2 = 2$, an instance of Pythagoras's theorem that the square on the hypothenuse of a right-angled triangle equals the sum of the squares on the two sides. The two solutions of the equation led to the recognition of positive and negative continuous-numbers, which (we have seen) require motion for a satisfactory explanation of their occurrence in algebra and in geometry. The second test case is exemplified by $x^2 = -1$, with the formal solutions $x = i$ and $x = -i$ where i is called imaginary and denotes the square root of minus one. To Hamilton the name " imaginary " was as much a misnomer as the name " X-ray " to a modern physicist. The algebraic imaginary, an element of complex number, must (he said), correspond to something in the real world. Algebra is not a science of phantasy but of reason, and its subject-matter is got through a mind-mould from the real world. The end-products of algebra cannot be truly imaginary. What is the reality which corresponds to the square root of minus one ? It is the other kind of motion, Hamilton answered, motion round a point, which also involves a peculiar union of space and time. Space and time, so alike and so different, are imaginary with respect to each other. The relation between them is the source of the imaginary in algebra. This relation has its real-world equivalent in rotary motion. The ever-expanding arrow of time, which is one-dimensional, can generate the three dimensions of space by suitable right-angled rotations. The algebraic imaginary, the square root of minus one, is a right-angled rotation. " Imaginary " continuous-numbers run at right angles to their " real " counterparts and both represented by lines are in a plane, but the terms " imaginary " and " real " are conventional and misleading. All continuous-numbers—" imaginary " and " real ", positive and negative—have equal reality. The interpretation of complex number, mixture of " imaginary " and " real," is obvious and has been referred to in discussing De Morgan's symbol of double algebra. We now see that complex number is duration in space of two dimensions, and that it is really three-dimensional since it combines the one dimension of time with two of

space.[1] Complex number is the name given to continuous-number in Flatland. The full development of algebra as extended arithmetic requires the extension of continuous-number to space of three dimensions. Continuous-number, or duration, in space of three dimensions is four-dimensional, a quaternion. Its distinguishing characteristic lies in its law of multiplication, which is non-commutative.

VI

The secret of quaternion multiplication is, like all great secrets of nature, very simple when once found. Hamilton discovered it by following up the idea that the algebraic imaginary is a right-angled rotation. He applied this idea to the three dimensions of space. Look at a corner of the room where floor and two walls meet to form three edges—one left, one right and one vertical. A rotation α brings the left edge along the floor into coincidence with the right edge. The same result is got by bringing the left edge up vertical by the rotation β, and then down the other wall into coincidence with the right edge by the rotation γ. This is to be translated into mathematical language as $\alpha = \beta\gamma$, a case of multiplication, not of addition.[2] Next reverse the rotations. Turning the right edge into the left edge by the two distinct processes is translated as " minus alpha equals minus gamma times minus beta—*i.e.*, gamma times beta " or $-\alpha = \gamma\beta$. It follows that $\beta\gamma = -\gamma\beta$. This is the law of multiplication that holds for the numbers of three-dimensional space, quaternions. This is the secret that was discovered on 16 October 1843, when Hamilton was walking on the towpath of the Royal Canal and an undercurrent of thought went on in his mind . . . . Irish mathematics, springing out of arithmetic, algebra and geometry, and adding to them the idea of motion to consummate the science of number and to make it applicable to the whole domain of mathematics, pure and mixed . . . . the numbers of space, quaternions, what is their law, their characteristic? The piled up thought and effort of fifteen years at last issued in a crystal jet. The incident is often quoted as an example of how genius hits on a discovery all of a sudden, but it is equally an illustration of how genius is patience and capacity for infinite labour.

[1] As logical consequences of this interpretation of Hamilton's theory we must conclude that serial-number has no dimension in time or space; group-number is unextended number, duration without space; continuous number is of three kinds, *viz.*, line-number or duration in space of one dimension; complex number or surface-number which is duration in space of two dimensions; and solid-number or quaternion duration in space of three dimensions.

[2] This is an important step in Hamilton's discovery. It entails the correct interpretation of the equation $i^2 = -1$ as a linkage of the two kinds of motion (two consecutive right-angled rotations in a plane, i^2, being the equivalent of reversing a linear motion, -1, like turning a motor car on a road). It also leads to the equations $\alpha^2 = \beta^2 = \gamma^2 = -1$, which represent the simplicity or homogeneity of space (one direction is as good as another and no better) and connect all the directions of space equally with motion. Other mathematicians gave geometrical representations to " minus one " and to the " square root of minus one." Hamilton gave these symbols meaning.

The grand discovery of Hamilton, which is the basis of all vector algebras, is a beautiful example of how mathematical science advances by the removal of restrictions and by generalization. Multiplication was originally a form of addition : it was an abbreviation of repeated equal additions. It is in this form that multiplication occurs in the seventh and following books of Euclid, the earliest writing on arithmetic that has come down to us. A totally new view of multiplication crept in when the operation was extended from whole numbers to fractions. The school boy feels it when he asks : how can multiplying a thing make it less ? Multiplication has become a different operation from addition : it now exists in its own right, independent of its parent. The word multiplication has expanded in meaning. Hamilton retained many of the old words in his science of quaternions. When he extended the domain of number by discovering quaternions, he also extended the meaning of multiplication, and he discovered a more general law of multiplication than the old commutative one. In common algebra the expression ab (signifying a times b) has the same value as the expression ba, and this condition of equality restricts the letters : it limits them to standing for commuting numbers. Quaternions are an example of anti-commuting numbers. They are a higher conception of number than commuting numbers. The quaternion is a multiplier in a wide sense. It can change one vector into another. It does so by two operations. It stretches or contracts, as in ordinary multiplication, and it turns. By its second operation it enlarges the conception of multiplication. In vector mathematics, motion round a point is brought within the scope of multiplication, which it amplifies, just as motion from a point was brought within the scope of addition (by the law of the parallelogram of forces) and led to the wider concept of geometrical or vector addition.

VII

Hamilton developed the calculus of quaternions and produced a method by which the processes of algebra could be applied to geometry with directness, simplicity and power. In the hands of Hamilton, Tait and others, the new geometrical algebra was applied successfully to difficult problems in astronomy, heat, elasticity, electricity and engineering. When engineers were engaged upon Irish railways, the exact solution of the problem of constructing oblique or skew bridges was solved through quaternions by Hamilton in the space of one day. As Whewell remarked, quaternion algebra was not a mere theory of symbols : it was a method of calculation, and it covered the whole ground from the widest generalities to the most particular problems. In typical nineteenth century style, Tait compared it to an elephant's trunk " ready at *any* moment for *anything*, be it to pick up a crumb or a field-gun, to strangle a tiger, or uproot a tree ; portable in the extreme, applicable anywhere and adapting

itself to its work." He thought it a grander instrument than co-ordinate geometry, which he likened to a steam-hammer requiring an expert to take it to its work and manage it. The mathematical world of the last century was, however, largely steeped in Cartesianism and was unable to build without the scaffolding which that system provides. The great Dublin school was, with important exceptions, composed of geometricians and few of them had the taste for developing quaternions. In England the formalist school predominated. Cayley, the greatest of British geometers, did indeed contribute a chapter to the third edition of Tait's *Elementary Treatise on Quaternions*; but English mathematicians generally found Hamilton's famous *Elements of Quaternions* too metaphysical. In Scotland, where every man is reputed to be a philosopher, there was deeper appreciation, especially by the distinguished Edinburgh school. In Germany, France and Italy many works on quaternions were published towards the end of the century, and Hamilton's words came true. At the beginning of this century an International Association for Promoting the study of Quaternions was founded in America. (Hamilton's fame stands high in America, where his work has received very important developments.) More recently papers on quaternions and on their modern applications have appeared, chiefly by Dr. A. W. Conway, greatest living authority on quaternions, and by his pupils. In a quaternion view of the electron wave equation Dr. Conway[1] shows that great simplifications are produced in modern titanic calculations by the use of quaternions. The two stately volumes of Hamilton's mathematical papers already published —fitting monuments to his genius and labours—do not deal with quaternions,[2] which are reserved for further volumes.

Where Hamilton showed the way of successfully and fruitfully breaking a mathematical law that had been accepted for centuries as common sense—but was only common opinion—many mathematicians have since followed. Thus Boole, Professor in Queen's University Cork about the middle of the last century, invented an algebra in which x^2 is always equal to x, and he showed that it represented the laws of thought. Boolean algebra has given rise to an impressive school of symbolical logicians who would put logic on a pure mathematical basis and deprive words of their emotional content—which, they say, is the chief source of error in reasoning. The begetting of new algebras continues. So far no general theory of algebras has been arrived at to compare with the parallel movement in geometries. Euclidean geometry, regarded by Kant as inherent in the human mind and necessarily true to space, has been shown to be

[1] *Congrès International des Mathématiciens*, Oslo, 1936; and Proc. Roy. Soc., A., No. 909. Vol. 162, pp. 145-154.

[2] Cunningham Memoirs of the Royal Irish Academy, Nos. XIII and XIV. *The Mathematical Papers of Sir William Rowan Hamilton*. Vol. 1. *Geometrical Optics*. Edited by A. W. Conway and J. L. Synge, (Cambridge University Press, 1931); vol. 2. *Dynamics*. Edited by A. W. Conway and A. J. McConnell, (Cambridge, 1940).

only one of many geometries, all equally valid as logical systems. The logical structure of geometries has been thoroughly investigated by Pasch and Hilbert and their work makes clear the true nature of geometry and to some extent of mathematics. Geometries in close agreement with the physical properties of the world are of most interest[1] and the fruitfulness of a mathematical theory is seen to depend largely on its possible contacts with the real world. There has been so far a triumph of meaning over blind symbolism. To this extent already, Hamilton's theory of algebra as the science of pure time has been vindicated against the formalist school. It is not given to the most perspicuous of geniuses to see the pattern he is engaged in weaving, but we recognise as Hamilton's many of the threads in the existing piece.

In reviewing some of the prodigious developments in mathematical science over the last hundred years, one is struck by the important part played by the ideas of space and time. The nineteenth century strove to separate science from philosophy and believed that correct knowledge about physics could be combined with any views whatever on the fundamental questions of being and reality. In its natural growth science did not follow the Trade Union rules prescribed for it by nineteenth century scientists and there has resulted in our own time the downfall of classical physics and of the philosophy behind it.[2] These developments throw light on the metaphysical pre-occupations of Hamilton in seeking a firm basis for his quaternions and reveal to us the sensitivity of his genius. They suggest that if he had been less of a philosopher, he would have been a lesser mathematician.

P. J. MacLaughlin

[1] Cf. Piaggio in *Nature*, 23 Jan., 1943, p. 94.
[2] Cf. E. T. Whittaker: *Aristotle, Newton and Einstein. Proc. Roy. Soc. of Edinburgh*, 26 Oct. 1942, pp. 231-46.

THE FUTURE OF IRISH MEDICINE

BY PROFESSOR T. W. T. DILLON, M.D.

IRELAND exports bullocks, bacon, butter and doctors. In normal times the profitability of these exports declines from left to right, and it has even been suggested by Professor O'Brien that the export of doctors may not be so profitable after all. It is, therefore, a serious question for Irishmen whether they should go on exporting doctors and butter. If they decide that, to preserve stability in our internal economy, it is worth while to subsidize butter production for export and university education for doctors—of whom 50 per cent. go abroad—then it is at least advisable to make sure that this country profits as much as possible on the business. This implies in the case of the doctors—and we may as well leave butter to the agricultural experts—that we should give to those who remain at home an education and a way of professional life which will make it possible for them to work to the best advantage in Ireland. *The State of Medicine in Ireland*,[1] which has just earned the Carmichael Prize for its author Dr. W. R. F. Collis, presents a vivid and trenchant study of our Medical Profession and its problems.

This essay should be read by everyone interested in our future. It is based on long experience enlightened by wide reading and clear thought on the whole complex of public health and medical education. As Dr. Collis points out, we have been conditioned in this matter of medical practice by our past, which has left us a mixed legacy. The dispensary system is good inasmuch as it provides some kind of medical service to all our people ; it is bad because the service provided is necessarily cursory and inefficient. Modern medicine calls for the free use of the laboratory, of the x-ray, and of modern therapeutic apparatus, if it is to yield results at all commensurate with the reasonable expectations of well-informed laymen. Perhaps it is fortunate for the Medical Profession in Ireland that the laity are relatively so ill-informed ; but this cannot be expected to continue. *The Reader's Digest*, to mention but one of many news periodicals with a wide circulation in rural Ireland, makes a special feature of medical progress. Even the daily press is beginning to realise that medicine is news. It is only a matter of time until we all realise how badly we are served by our present medical arrangements. It is not, of course, that the doctors are untrained or incompetent. Our doctors have always been reasonably good and well trained. Indeed, in many ways the methods of the Irish school are better suited than those current in England for the production of practical doctors. And in recent years the competition for vacant dispensaries and Medical Officerships has been so keen that the Appointments Commission has been able to keep the standard very high indeed. Most of the young men who take up dispensaries today have been for several years in English hospitals, undergoing the best kind of postgraduate training ; and many of those appointed to the better posts have worked in the

[1] Dublin : Parkside Press. 1943. 3s. 6d.

great postgraduate schools on the Continent or in the United States. We have, therefore, no reason to doubt the quality or the ability of the men ; it is the machines, the laboratories, the auxiliary personnel that are deficient or lacking.

It is tempting here to return to the analogy with our other exports. We have good farmers and we produce good butter ; but if these farmers had really first-class equipment and milchcows—the machines of the butter industry—capable of producing 800 gallons instead of 400 gallons from the same quantity of grass, our butter output would be greater and cheaper. If our doctors had the machines and the laboratories and other buildings in which to house them, we should have a first-class public health service. But let us note at this point that the opportunity to produce both first-class butter and first-class doctors is provided, under present circumstances, by our favourable relationship to the English market, which absorbs all we can produce. It is true that we spend a great deal of money on the education of doctors who then devote the fruits of that education to England or some other country. But we skim the cream for ourselves. The very best, the high honours graduates, tend to come home after a few years postgraduate study and research to our hospitals and medical schools ; the second-best stay longer away, working in English hospitals, and are picked over from time to time by the Appointments Commission for the wide range of official and semi-official appointments ; and of those who remain in other countries for ten or more years a respectable fraction filter back in ones and twos, bringing with them valuable experience and often specialist knowledge otherwise unattainable over here. Our Irish way of life offers an almost irresistible attraction to exiles.

The disadvantages or drawbacks of our medical system are, however, serious. I have already mentioned the deplorable lack of facilities. This is a problem for which no facile solution can be offered. Dr. Collis discusses it with great insight into the very real value of the traditions which have made Irish medicine, while pointing out at the same time the disturbing anomalies and strains which are, in his view, at present threatening to unmake it. We have developed, he says, a system of Personal Medicine—*i.e.*, a doctor-patient relationship—which is both the true expression of our individualistic outlook and a far humaner basis than the card-index and the case-number which has so benumbed much of modern continental practice. This system, which is closely interwoven with the fabric of the voluntary hospitals and the dispensaries, is being undermined by two allied forces : state-control and the drive towards greater efficiency. It is one of the most poignant anomalies of modern life that efficiency, which is clearly a good thing, always and everywhere tends to destroy personal freedom. The little man cannot compete with the big high-powered organization; the General Practitioner, with his stethoscope and maternity bag, is fighting a losing battle

against the big hospital (from which he is excluded) or the co-operative team of experts controlling their own special services. The foundation of the Mayo Institute in America and of similar private hospitals in other countries and the admission of paying patients into hospitals are the two jaws of a pincer movement which is closing on the General Practitioner.

Modern advances in medicine render the position of the General Practitioner more difficult every day. The discovery of the sulphonamide drugs, for instance, has made the treatment of the majority of acute diseases ever so much easier, and it might be thought that this would strengthen the position of the General Practitioner. But it has not turned out like that. The very simplicity of the treatment has tended rather to push him further down towards the level of the dispensing chemist—to whom he has lost, in great part, the coughs and colds and fleeting rheumatic pains which affect us at all times. On the other hand, the special skill of the well-informed General Practitioner is no longer such a marked advantage in this wide group of sulphonamide-susceptible diseases. For the proof of his abilities and powers he must rely, therefore, on the diagnosis and treatment of chronic disease and the wide field of preventive medicine. But here again he is caught by the march of science. The more we know of disease, the more difficult it becomes to determine either what is wrong or what stage has been reached in the evolution of the disease in each patient. Modern therapeutics is a much more subtle and finely tempered tool than the sledge-hammers wielded so valiantly by our forefathers. Firmly based on an array of fundamental and auxiliary sciences, it achieves its effects by intervening, to the right degree and at the right stage, in the delicately balanced physiological mechanisms of body function. The evident result of this immanentist approach to the therapeutic problem, which seeks to achieve success rather by helping the Vis Medicatrix Naturae along its way than by shocking it into submission, is an almost infinite complication of diagnostic and therapeutic technique. Hence the development of specialities and subspecialities and their fusion into a working whole by close co-operation in hospital or private clinic

The central problem, therefore, of Dr. Collis's excellent essay is this antinomy between the General Practitioner and Dispensary Doctor, on the one hand, and the growing complexity of modern medicine on the other. Are we to have inefficient Personal Medicine or efficient Totalitarian Medicine? Dr. Collis thinks we can solve this antinomy if we have courage to exercise our gifts of practical imagination and adaptation, which carried us so far in the past and have been evident in many of our successful enterprises during the last few years.

But before we turn to consider the terms of Dr. Collis's solution, I want to say this much to avoid misunderstanding and the danger of wounding my many friends amongst General Practitioners. I think and, if I read him aright, Dr. Collis thinks that it is a bad thing that the ordinary doctor should be elbowed out. It is a bad and a dangerous thing that

the chemist should have, at his disposal and without medical control, the means of treating coughs and colds and fleeting pains ; and it would be a lamentable thing if he were free to prescribe sulphonamides at his own discretion. Fortunately this is not possible. But if preventive medicine is to become a reality, it is essential to restore the prestige of the family physician and his control over the prescription of simple remedies. The cough which is being treated by the chemist, the indigestion which is dosed with a patent alkaline powder, or the lumbago for which he dispenses a plaster and a bottle of aspirins, may be the first beginnings of serious and deadly disease. Tuberculosis, cancer and kidney disease start their career under these very disguises.

Our doctors must be graded up, not pushed down ; but the upgrading must not involve the loss of their freedom or the freedom of their patients. They must have access, on reasonable terms and without losing control of their patients, to the facilities of all kinds which make successful diagnosis and modern treatment possible. They are and should remain the most important section of the medical profession. In fact, if we are to achieve the synthesis of Personal Medicine with efficiency, it can only be through the proper use of our family physician. He must be the centre to which will flow the assistance and co-operation of pharmaceutical chemist, nurse, masseuse, dietetician, specialist and state medical officer. But if he is to assume this responsible function, his training should include more opportunity for research and that type of clinical investigation which is closely allied to research. These should be made available in Ireland, so that both teacher and student may develop that critical habit of mind which is a necessary protection against the pressure of commercial advertisement and a valuable instrument in the diagnosis and treatment of chronic disease.

There has indeed been a beginning of such work, during the last twenty years, in more than one of the great voluntary hospitals ; and the recent foundation of the Medical Research Council, in spite of its extremely parsimonious endowment, gives promise of healthy development in the future. Yet it is interesting to note, as an index of the difficulty of establishing this kind of work, that the bulk of the funds so far spent on research by the Medical Research Council has gone to research in the more fundamental sciences of Biochemistry, Physiology and Immunology. The fact is that our teaching hospitals are, with very few exceptions, quite unsuitable for this kind of work. They possess neither the staff nor the equipment for modern scientific investigation, and their liaison with the laboratories of the medical schools is too loose and too occasional to permit of the close co-operation which would be necessary to make this work feasible. We have fallen imperceptibly far behind England in this vital region of medical progress and education. And the necessity for establishing it on a firm basis arises not only from our internal needs, but also from the need of keeping pace with the English school of medicine.

If we are to maintain our export flow of doctors, we must be prepared to meet the requirements of the market. English medicine is going through a crisis of readjustment and revaluation ; and those best qualified to judge consider that the scientific approach to medicine will penetrate much more intimately into medical education and gain a much larger place in the hospital system of the future.

It is one of the anomalies of the Irish situation that the voluntary hospitals—again with a few notable exceptions—have been so reluctant to take on the additional staff necessary to make this scientific work possible. The state hospitals in Eire, with one or two honourable exceptions, are of course much more primitive in this respect. Their standards are many years, if not decades, behind and below those of the voluntary hospitals—so that there is no temptation for anyone familiar with the true state of things to seek salvation in state-control. On the contrary everything points to the prospect that state-control would mean lavish expenditure on architectural grandeur, splendid sanitary fittings and central heating, with skeleton medical equipment and ludicrously inadequate staffing. So it has been at any rate in most of the county hospitals and city infirmaries built out of sweepstake funds. Those that have not been replaced, still stagger along carrying with them an unpleasant aroma of the Poor Law and the last decades of the nineteenth century. As far as the higher aspects of medical education and research are concerned, our salvation can only come from the voluntary hospitals and the free universities and medical schools.

It will be seen, therefore, that the solution of the problem turns on the close co-operation of the General Practitioner and the voluntary hospitals, working together to achieve a new synthesis which, providing full medical service for all the people, aims at prevention of disease, early diagnosis and efficient therapeusis. Where, then, does the State come in ? At present the State, working through the Local Authorities (which are now firmly controlled by the Department of Local Government and Public Health), appoints and employs a number of very able and highly trained doctors on a whole time basis. Their duties are mainly concerned with preventive medicine, and they have achieved amazing things when one considers the poverty of their means, the grinding mechanism of form-filling and file-passing which fills much of their overworked days, and the wretched inadequacy of the accommodation available to them for their main therapeutic task—tuberculosis. I have just completed a preliminary analysis of the results of their work on tuberculosis in every county of Ireland, and I should like to say how much I admire the energy and courage with which they have made bricks without straw throughout the last twenty years. The whole wide field of preventive medicine has been covered by them, and no successful scheme can be envisaged which would leave them out. Again, the National Health Insurance Society—which is, I believe, one of the great successes of our new State—must fit into the future framework.

When one remembers all the separate interests and traditions involved and recalls the stubborn resistance in so many spheres of Irish work to close co-operation under a central control, it is enough to make anyone hesitate to suggest a radical remedy. Why not go on patching here and propping there, consoling ourselves with the prudent reflection that good things grow gradually and that we are not doing so badly after all. It is hard to convince those who have done good work and led a happy life in an old building that the time has come to rebuild and extend, if anything is to be saved. We all wait for the last Corporation notice before we will consent to rebuild the backwall which, we well know, is falling into the street. But if the wall falls, the house collapses and buries everybody within in the ruins. Some of us are convinced that Irish medicine has reached this stage; and Dr. Collis deserves every credit for being the first to bell the cat.

Dr. Collis's proposal is in brief outline this: that the State should hand over the organization, education and control of the medical profession to the profession; that it should assign to the Controlling Body, which Dr. Collis suggests might well model itself on the Royal Academy of Medicine (which is probably the most vital and disinterested medical organization in Eire), all duties concerned with the preservation of the public health. The Board would, he suggests, consist of a chairman appointed by the Minister, a substantial medical element representing all interests and specialities, lay representatives appointed by such bodies as the National Health Insurance Corporation, the Board of Management of the Hospitals, the Nursing Council and any other representative organization concerned with the public health. It would control all funds provided for public health services—*i.e.*, the Sweep Funds and those annually provided by the State and the Local Authorities for public health needs. The details of such a proposal would of course, need to be carefully examined by experts in administration and finance. Dr. Collis gives an outline of its probable medical development and activities which is based on a rich experience of two branches of medicine: paediatrics and tuberculosis. It is for others to fill in the detailed structure in other respects. I believe that a plan on these lines will save what is precious in Irish medical tradition and give us the opportunity of contributing something new and in the best sense revolutionary towards medical progress in the larger setting of the post-war world. Those who believe that the future of our State should lie in freedom from rather than in subservience to state-control will welcome this carefully thought out proposal and do everything possible to make it a success.

T. W. T. Dillon

WALTER OSBORNE AND IRELAND*
1859—1903

BY STEPHEN GWYNN

I HAVE to talk about an Irishman who was much beloved in Ireland and out of it, and indeed is well remembered by those who care for good painting. Still I think there are things to be said that will interest those who know only his art; and it is now nearly forty years since he died.

I never knew a man who seemed more likely than Walter Osborne to live to a happy and vigorous old age. He was one of the strongest men I ever knew, and by choice he lived the simplest and healthiest kind of life always in the open air. If he had always followed his instincts as an artist, he would be alive today—and probably painting as well as ever he painted. The reason why he gave up his way of life was simply that he was before all other things a good son. Nothing in the world interested him or attracted him so much as his own work, painting the things that he wanted to paint, in his own way. It was not that other things did not interest him. He liked companionship and society, and he was welcome everywhere. He liked games and indeed was one of the best natural athletes I ever met; if he had chosen to give time to it he could have had his place on any Irish eleven. But his own choice was to be always in some countryside that appealed to him, working every day and all day in the open air; and only the coldest weather drove him back to his home in Rathmines, at No. 5 Castlewood Avenue, where his father William Osborne, also a painter, lived and had his studio.

You cannot understand Walter Osborne's work without remembering that he was the son of an excellent animal painter, a member of the Royal Hibernian Academy. William Osborne was essentially a painter of horses and dogs. Horses by choice, I think; and in the sixties and seventies, when Irish landlords had money to spend, he did well by painting studies of favourite hunters. In the great gallery at Kilkenny Castle, among scores of portraits of the Ormonds, I saw one representing the Marquis of Ormond of that day sitting on his horse, and there was more life and character in it than I saw elsewhere in the collection. That was by William Osborne—a perfect picture of an Irish landlord of the best type sitting easily on his hunter. It made you feel the sympathy that there is between a good rider and the horse that has carried him over country gallantly and without effort. But in the eighties, when I began to know the Osbornes, landlords

* A broadcast talk from Radio Eireann.

were very short of cash and William Osborne was painting dogs almost entirely. He painted them as a dog fancier, who has feeling for the points of the breed ; but he painted them as a dog lover, who knows the character of dogs. Foxterriers amused him ; but his special taste was the curly Irish brown water spaniel ; and one never saw him out of doors without a couple of them at his heels or on a lead.

Walter Osborne learnt first under his father, then went to Antwerp for training, and then I suppose under Belgian influence chose Brittany for a painting ground. The earliest pictures of his that were exhibited were of the little towns about Quimperlé : charming work, but colder in colour than his later things. By the time I met him, about 1883, he was already drawn to the South of England ; and for the next fifteen years or more he worked by choice either on the Berkshire downs or at some little old port like Romsey or Walberswick. Ireland did not tempt him, and for two reasons. First, because it rained too often ; and the school to which Osborne belonged followed the example of the French impressionists in trying to reproduce effects of atmosphere, not from memory in a studio but actually face to face with the shifting light. Now, you cannot paint in the rain. The second reason was that in England clean lodgings could be got in a village pub, and to speak truth that was not possible in Ireland. He wanted to live for a pound a week all told—I have known him to get down to twelve shillings, but that he found too Spartan even for him. Generally he shared a sitting room with another painter of the same tastes.

But what Osborne was looking for was not scenic beauty such as the West of Ireland or Scotland or the Lake Country can show : a sloping down with the gradations of light on it was his choice background. The mellow beauty of English villages and their cottage gardens appealed to him strongly ; but—and I have never seen this strongly emphasised—he painted again and again landscape with animals—cattle, sheep and pigs. I do not remember many studies of cattle in his earlier work, but sheep constantly ; and whatever animals he painted, he painted with the knowledge of an animal painter. He had studied sheep till he had learnt to know one from another as a shepherd does. They were in a sense not his main subject ; he was really painting an effect of light, an hour of the day ; but the sheep were seen, not vaguely, but with accurate sense of their proportion or their characteristic movement. Pigs also he painted with delight, the little black Berkshires, in some of his best pictures ; but he found pigs unmarketable. No one wanted pictures of pigs—a silly prejudice ; for your clean outdoor living pig is a pleasant animal.

Naturally in the winter months, which he spent in Dublin, he tried his hand at portraiture. I think I was his first sitter, and a very good picture he made—but not really a portrait : a study of a young man reading in a room hung with pictures—the studio of the moment. He was offered commissions and accepted ; soon it became clear that money

was more easily earned this way; but it was not work suited to him. I think he was too courteous to investigate the recesses of any one else's character, to try and see the man or the woman behind the face. No personality emerges from a charming piece of work. Nevertheless, as his father grew older (he had married very late), there was more need of money at home and Walter painted more portraits: and painted also scenes in Dublin streets. Then—somewhere in the nineties—he tried Galway, and artistically the result was enchanting. What drew him was the old town down by the quays and the picturesqueness of the Claddagh women and their fish baskets. A few small things preserve his sense of all that rich colour—but only a few. The Claddagh women hunted him. No one who knows them would call them shy, but they thought it unlucky to have their portraits painted. Primitive people all the world over have this belief, and the Claddagh women were not of the kind that retreat easily. They hunted him.

Osborne went back for some seasons to England, but then trouble brought him home. His sister, a beautiful girl who was the life of that home, married and went to Canada; and within a year or two died in child-birth.[1] The child lived and was brought home to Dublin to be reared by the old people and by her uncle, who really took the place of her far-off father. Then old Mr. Osborne died, leaving only a memory of his courtesy and charm, and from that time out Walter Osborne was tied to Dublin—and to portraiture. Yet in the summer he still did what was his proper work, studies of landscape with figures in the open air: sometimes in the Dublin parks, sometimes in the little garden at Castlewood Avenue when the light pierced through heavy foliage; sometimes in the hilly ground about Foxrock but oftenest in the broad levels of Fingal. The best picture of his that I have ever seen was for a while on loan to the Irish National Gallery. It showed a broad pasture with a screen of trees on the left, and in the angle so formed a group of cattle lazily grazing: beyond the field the long low front of a farm house gave Osborne his chance to show how whitewash in the sunlight becomes shot with irridescent colour.

That is the Ireland that Walter Osborne was born to paint; not the Ireland that Paul Henry, Humbert Craig and a score have made so familiar with its beauty of mountain peaks and heather and rolling cloud, but an Ireland, fruitful mother of flocks and herds, having its own tranquil beauty and adorned by the dignified shapes of fine cattle. I do not think that since the Dutchmen any one has painted cattle in a field with so much knowledge and so much power to reveal their beauty as Walter Osborne. But in all his painting there was what the Dutchmen never saw—the pearly quality of Irish air.

The end of his life was like him. His old mother, already a very old

[1] Violet Osborne was the first wife of the late Professor W. F. P. Stockley.

woman, had fallen ill and lay at death's door ; he divided his time between work at the studio and attendance on her and the child. Then one day, missing his accustomed exercise, he went and did some gardening work, overheated himself when he was liable to chills from work and night watching, neglected the chill, got pneumonia—and lay in one room while his mother distracted seemed to be dying in the next. Yet it was the strong man who died.

He left a great deal of work, for his industry was great, and he was producing for five and twenty years. It is not the work most in fashion now. It never occurred to him to doubt that his first task was to produce a clear representation of some object. In all that he painted, a man bred to the country will recognise the features of a countryside or the colours of a sky rendered with fidelity and with instinctive knowledge ; but there will be revealed to him also harmonies of colour, delicacies of atmospheric effect which the ordinary man would scarcely have discovered.

I have never thought that Osborne had given all he had to give. Working as he did in presence of a bewildering problem, the picture did not always detach itself ; it seemed to get tangled up with the paint ; it lacked what is more easily obtained by those who work from memory and from notes, the quality of a carrying voice. Yet the picture of which I have spoken and a good many others would make their effect across any room ; and I can imagine very few more desirable to live with. The beauty that they have is of the kind that is not easily exhausted.

STEPHEN GWYNN

THE MANAGERIAL REVOLUTION

BY THOMAS BYRNE, S.J.

THE last thirty years have witnessed a breakdown in the capitalist order: that order which was characterized in economics by capitalist industrialism and the ideal of free trade, in politics by parliamentarianism and democratic ideals, and in thought by liberalism, humanitarianism and the belief in the ideal of progress. We are living in a time of social revolution, of very rapid change from one form of society to another. That change, already far advanced in Russia and Germany, is being greatly accelerated in other countries, such as U.S.A. and England, by the present war. The common belief that the present world war cannot be adequately understood in the usual diplomatic, political and military terms is justified. It is an episode, even though a major one, in a social revolution. Capitalist society is in dissolution. What new form of society is taking or about to take its place?

To this question Mr. Burnham of New York University has attempted an answer in a book* which appeared in U.S.A. in 1941 and was first published in England last year. He does not claim that there is anything very original or startling in his answer. The various elements in his theory may be found in various books published during the last twenty years. What is new is the name given to the new form of society, the number of facts synthesized under the theory, the elimination of assumptions that have hitherto obscured its significance, and the manner of presentation. The name given to the new form of society now taking shape is not without importance, for a name can either reveal or obscure the essence. As regards the presentation: Mr. Burnham's theory is a descriptive one, not an explicative theory. It describes and expresses what is happening in the world, but it does not search out the causes. This limitation is not altogether dependent on Mr. Burnham's choice; it is inherent in his empiricist position, and his empiricism leads him at times to make statements unacceptable to those who hold a wider and more profound theory of science. Moreover Mr. Burnham abstains, as far as possible, from judgements of value. He is not concerned with the question whether the new form of society which is taking shape is good or bad in itself, or whether it is better or worse than the capitalist society which it is supplanting. Yet he does not hide the fact that the conclusions to which he has been led on the evidence are in conflict with what he himself most desires.

Mr. Burnham's thesis is that capitalism will not continue, nor will it change into socialism, but it will change into managerial society. If the thesis is true, it is important that we should understand it. We cannot

* James Burnham: *The Managerial Revolution.* London: Putnam, 7s. 6d.

remain unaffected by a world revolution even though we are a small nation and isolated; and an understanding of the world-situation is the first step towards an intelligent reaction to it. I propose therefore to give an outline of the theory. This is not an easy task. Mr. Burnham's book itself is but an outline, even though it contains 271 pages. And an outline of what is itself an outline may well fail to do justice to the author or carry any conviction.

The evidence that the capitalist form of society is passing away need not detain us. Sufficient to note that the capitalist form of society is based on private ownership of the means of production and on private enterprise; and so every new incursion of the State into the economy means that one more section of the economy is wholly or partly removed from the reign of capitalist economic relations. State-ownership is sometimes called State-Capitalism; but one must protest against such a terminology. An economy of State-ownership cannot rightly be called capitalist since in it there are no capitalists. A capitalist is one who, as an individual, has ownership interest in the instruments of production; who, as an individual, employs workers, pays them wages, and is entitled to the products of their labour. In a State-owned economy no such individuals are to be found. Ownership would be invested in the State as an institution, not in individuals; men would work for the State as an institution, not for individuals; the State would control the products of their labours, not individuals. There is then little meaning in calling such an economy capitalist.

The term State-Socialism is equally objectionable because deceptive. It implies the belief that State-ownership secures a socialist society. A socialist society, according to its classical or Marxist meaning, is a society that is free, classless, and international. It is classless in the sense that no class or group of persons in a socialist society has property rights over the instruments of production different from those of the rest of society; all in a socialist society are politically, economically, and socially equal. State-power in the sense at least of the coercive institutions of government (police, army, prisons) " will wither away ". And socialist society is international, if not at first actually, at least in its tendency. It was and still is the belief of Marxists that State-ownership of the means of production is the necessary and sufficient condition for the ushering in of socialist society. Their belief is ill-founded.

This Marxist belief is almost entirely based on one argument and two assumptions. The argument is a deduction from their dialectical materialism and has the same validity as the premises. The first assumption is that Socialism is the only alternative to Capitalism. Theoretically this assumption is not true. Theoretically society may take many forms, and historically it has assumed many forms. Practically, in the concrete circumstance of the present-day world, Socialism may perchance be the

only alternative to Capitalism; but this cannot be simply assumed; it must be proved. The second assumption is that the abolition of capitalist private property rights in the instruments of production is a sufficient condition for the establishment of a classless society. This assumption is not true. It is true that effective class-power and class-privilege does require control over the instruments of production; but this control need not be exercised through individual property rights. And what has happened in Russia during the past twenty-five years proves in fact that the Marxist argument and assumptions have been wrong.

In November 1917 the Bolsheviks, professed socialists, took over state-control in Russia. A few months later, private property rights in the chief instruments of production were abolished, and property rights were vested in the State. If the Marxists were right, though we should not perhaps expect the immediate establishment of Socialism, we should at least find in Russia unmistakable tendencies towards a free, classless, international society. But we find exactly the contrary. With regard to the three decisive characteristics of socialist society—classlessness, freedom, and internationalism—Russia is much further away to-day than during the first years of the revolution. Though the capitalists were, with trivial exceptions, eliminated from Russian society and have not since returned, a new class stratification, along economic lines, has proceeded to such an extent that it equals or exceeds in sharpness that found in capitalist countries. This is shown, on the one hand, by the absolute exclusion of the great mass of the people from any control over the instruments of production; on the other, by the distribution of national income. According to Trotsky, in an article published in 1939 and based on a careful collation and analysis of statistics published in the Soviet press, the upper 11 or 12 per cent. of the Soviet population now receives approximately 50 per cent. of the national income. This compares unfavourably even with the United States where the upper 10 per cent. of the population receives approximately 35 per cent. of the national income. Whatever freedom existed in Russia during the early years of the revolution has been gradually taken away. State-control has progressively increased, and it is not untrue to say that the Russian régime is the most autocratic in history. In keeping with socialist theories of internationalism, the leaders of the Russian Revolution expected their spark to touch off the world revolution. This did not happen, but during the early years the leaders remained internationalist in outlook and practice. They were theoretically indifferent to national boundaries and looked upon the Russian State as the first fortress of the international socialist masses—to be used, or sacrificed if need be, in the higher interests of world revolution. But, after the first years, for this internationalism there was substituted an ever-growing nationalism which has in recent times come to exceed anything present under the Czars.

But though the social movement in Russia is not towards the establishment of a socialist society, neither is it towards the restitution of capitalist society. And what is true of Russia is proportionally true of every major country in the world. Stalinism, Nazism, New-dealism are specifically the same phenomenon, but at different stages of development. We are witnessing a social revolution on a world scale. A new form of society, similar in every major country, is taking shape. This new form Mr. Burnham calls, for reasons which we shall see, Managerial Society.

What is happening is that a new socially dominant or ruling class in society is emerging. The instruments of production are the means whereby men live, and so those who control the chief instruments of production control society. Where there is such a controlling group in society, a group which, against the rest of society, has a greater measure of control over the instruments of production and a preferential treatment in the distribution of the products of those instruments, we may speak of this group as a socially dominant or ruling class in that society. Such a group has the power and privilege and wealth in the society, as against the remainder of society. This conception of a ruling class does not presuppose any particular kind of government or any particular legal form of property right ; it rests upon the facts of control over the instruments of production and preferential treatment in the distribution of the products. These two factors in social dominance, though distinct, are intimately connected. Human nature being what it is, those who have control over access to the instruments of production not unnaturally grant themselves preferential treatment in the distribution of the products. In the form of society familiar to us control over access to the instruments of production was had through private property rights—rights which were vindicated, if threatened, by the coercive institutions of government ; and the dominant class was capitalist. In the new form of society now taking shape control over access to the instruments of production will not be held through private property rights, which are being eliminated (ownership being transferred to the State) ; control will be had indirectly through control over the State, and the new dominant class will be the managers.

The answer to the question : who are the managers ? must be given in terms of function with respect to the major instruments of production. Particular individuals may cease to be managers and new individuals may take their place, but the function and the type remain. The emergence of the distinctive managerial function in modern industry is the effect of modern mass-production. The most important branches of modern industry are highly complex in technical organization. The tools, machines and processes involved are the results of highly developed scientific and technical operations. The division of labour is minute and myriad ; and the turning-out of the final product is possible only through the technical co-ordination of a vast number of separate tasks—not only within the

individual factory, but in mines, farms, railroads, steamships, etc. As a consequence there is a sharp division in skill, training, and function between the average worker and those in charge, on the technical side, of the processes of production. As industry is organized to-day, it takes only a couple of weeks to make a worker ready to take his full place on a production or assembly line, and even so-called skilled work usually needs no more than a few months' training. But, on the other hand, a small percentage of tasks requires greater training and skill than ever.

Among the tasks in modern mass-production which require lengthy training and considerable skill two types may be separated out and distinguished. The first type consists of those tasks requiring elaborate training in the physical sciences and in engineering. The number of highly trained chemists, physicists, bio-chemists, engineers directly engaged in industry has greatly increased in the last few decades. The second type consists of the tasks of the technical direction and co-ordination of the processes of production. All the necessary workers, skilled and unskilled, and all the industrial scientists will not by themselves turn out cars or tractors. The diverse tasks must be organized, co-ordinated, so that the different materials, tools, machines, plants, workers are all available at the proper place and moment and in the proper numbers. This task of direction and co-ordination is itself a highly specialized function. Often it, also, requires acquaintance with the physical sciences and with engineering, as with the psychological and social sciences, since human beings are not the least among the instruments of production. But it is a mistake to confuse this directing and co-ordinating function with the scientific and engineering work which is listed under the first type. After all, the engineers and the scientists are merely highly skilled workers, no different in kind from the worker whose developed skill enables him to make a precision tool or operate an ingenious lathe. They have no functions of guiding, administering, managing, organizing the processes of production—which tasks are the distinctive mark of the second type. For these tasks, engineering and scientific knowledge may be, though it is not always or necessarily, a qualification, but the tasks themselves are not engineering or science in the usual sense. It is this second function which, in the fullest meaning of the word, is called " managing " ; and those who fulfil the function are " managers ".

In the earlier days of Capitalism, the typical capitalist was himself the manager of the industry which he owned. But with the growth of large-scale public corporations and the technological development of modern industry this is no longer so. Through changes in the technique of production the functions of management become more distinctive, more complex, more specialized, and more crucial to the whole process of production—thus serving to set off those who perform these functions as a separate group or class in society ; and at the same time those who

formerly carried out what functions there were of management, the capitalists, themselves withdraw from management, so that the difference in functions becomes also a difference in the individuals who carry out the functions.

In modern large-scale industry four groups may be distinguished in their relation to ownership, control and management of the industry: namely managers, executives, finance-capitalists, and stockholders. Managers are absolutely necessary to the modern process of mass-production. With profit in the capitalist sense eliminated, the technically necessary functions of the executives become part of management, if management is extended over all or most of industry. From a strictly technical point of view finance-capitalists and stockholders are altogether unnecessary to the process of production. Provided that there are capable managers, modern mass-production can continue to function efficiently, even though there are no stockholders and finance-capitalists and the profit-making functions of executives are eliminated. This is not only conceivable. It has already been almost entirely achieved in Russia, is approached more and more nearly in Germany, and has gone a considerable distance in other nations. It is precisely the situation to be found in state-enterprise.

Even within the framework of capitalist society, the divorce between legal ownership and the control of the processes of industry means that social dominance is passing out of the hands of capitalists into the hands of the managers. The instruments of production are the seat of social dominance; who controls them in fact, even though not in name, controls society, for they are the means whereby society lives. It is true that, within the framework of capitalist society, the control of the managers can never be complete. A manager may be dismissed by an owner. But the divorce between ownership and control cannot be stable. The managers tend to increase their control. There is such a thing as occupational bias, and managers are inclined to solve social and political problems as they co-ordinate and organize the actual processes of production. They think that, if their efforts were not restricted on the one hand by capitalists and on the other hand by organized labour, they could solve the unemployment problem in a short time. It is all, they say, a question of more and better management.

The dominance of the managerial class is not due merely to the withdrawal of capitalists from the actual direction of the processes of production; it is being emphasized and secured by the incursion of the State into the sphere of what was formerly private ownership and enterprise. According to the liberal theory of the State, the typical capitalist theory, the business of the State was to guarantee domestic tranquillity, handle foreign wars and relations, and with that to stand aside and let the economic process take care of itself, intervening only in a negative

way to correct injustices, remove obstacles, and keep the market "free". The rôle of government in the economy was always secondary. But this traditional and restricted rôle of government is now being abandoned in most countries. Government is moving always more widely and deeply into the economy, and every new incursion of government into the economy means that one more section of the economy is wholly or partially removed from the reign of capitalist economic relations. Government extension into the economy is of two kinds: the acquisition of full ownership and the exercise of control. State-ownership is on the increase, the government taking over fully, with all the attributes of ownership, section after section of the economy both by acquiring already established sections and by opening up others not previously existing. Postal service, transportation, water supply, public utilities, ship-building, sanitation, communications, housing, various forms of "relief" work become fields of government enterprise. Education, which may also be treated as an economic institution, is (except for a negligible fraction) a state-enterprise.

In the United States the government, either directly or through subsidy, provides about half of the medical care; the immediate bureaucracy of the federal government includes over a million persons—double the number of a decade ago; already half or more of the entire population is dependent, wholly or partly, upon government for the means of living. During the past seven or eight years new capital investment in private enterprise has been almost eliminated. This does not mean that new investment has not taken place. It has, but through government in state-enterprises, where it is in effect measured by the increase in the national debt. Federal government investment during these years has totalled more than five times private investment. Outright acquisition by government of rapidly increasing areas of the economy is, however, only a phase of the process. Still more striking, and far more extensive in range, is the widening control by government of more and more parts and features of the economy, exercised by the long list of commissions and bureaus and alphabetical agencies. There is control, in varying extent, of agricultural and security issues, of advertising and marketing practices, of labour relations and utility rates, of exports and imports, of wages and banking rules. Nearly every one of these governmental controls imposes restrictions upon capitalist property rights, removes the objects and functions controlled to a greater or less degree from the unmixed reign of the market and capitalist property relations.

The actual day-by-day direction of the processes owned and operated by the government or controlled, without full ownership, by the government is in the hands of individuals strictly comparable to the managers in private industry. In government enterprise finance-capitalists and stockholders disappear; the functions of the executives, stripped of profit-making, are merged with management; the managers alone remain.

Under present conditions in the United States it is true that the governmental managers do not altogether have free reign; but the process of extending governmental ownership and control nevertheless means a continuous increase of managerial dominance in the economy as a whole. It should be noted that those implementing the new functions of government in state-enterprises, the managers or directors, differ from the old type of civil servant; and the need experienced for a reform of the civil service in England may be interpreted as a recognition of this fact. The very same process, which has been completed in Russia and nearly completed in Germany, is taking place in other major nations, even though the ways and means by which it is brought about may differ.

An economic structure based upon state-ownership of the major instruments of production provides the framework for the social domination of the managers. There is nothing in the structure of state-ownership which could, in some mysterious and necessary way, eliminate class rule and domination. On the contrary an economy of state-ownership can, though it need not, provide the basis for the most absolute domination and exploitation of a ruling class. Those who control the State, those whose interests are primarily served by the State, are the ruling class under the structure of state-owned economy. Through the State they will control access to the instruments of production. Through the State they will control the distribution of the products of those instruments, so that they themselves receive the privileged share. This ruling class, as the evidence of the past few decades indicates, will be the managers. The managerial economy will be, thus, an exploiting economy. By an "exploiting" economy is here meant simply an economy wherein one group receives a relatively larger share of the products of the economy than another; it implies no judgement on the morality of the practice.

The specific process whereby exploitation in managerial society takes place will not be the same as in capitalist society. No individual will be able to make money by using money as private capital in economic enterprise. Control over the instruments of production will be exercised by the managers, not through private property rights, but through their *de facto* control of the state-institutions—through the managers themselves occupying the key directing positions of the "unlimited" State, which in managerial society will be a fused politico-economic apparatus. Their preferential treatment in distribution will be allotted to them in terms of status in the politico-economic structure. The experiences of Russia and Germany already show that this preferential treatment in distribution need not take an exclusively monetary form: the nominal monetary income of the managers may be low, but privileges in the form of cars, houses, food, clothing, luxuries may be many. The system of managerial economy might be called a type of corporate exploitation as opposed to the private exploitation of capitalism. The managers will exploit the rest

of society as a corporate body, their privileges belonging to them not as individuals but through the position of directing responsibility which they occupy. Through the possession of privilege, power, and the command of educational facilities, they will be able to control, within limits, the personnel of the new managerial recruits ; and the ruling class of managers will thus achieve a certain continuity from generation to generation.

Managerial economy would not be replacing capitalist economy unless it could solve, at least in some measure, the key difficulties that are faced by capitalism and which make impossible the continuance of capitalism : mass-unemployment, recurring economic crises, inability to use new inventions and technological devices, incapacity to exploit undeveloped areas. We know, without waiting for the future, that managerial economy can do away with mass-unemployment. This was done, by managerial methods, in Russia and Germany. We may not approve of the methods ; we may think that mass-unemployment is, for example, preferable to conscript labour battalions, but the fact is that managerial economy has succeeded in eliminating mass-unemployment, the most intolerable of all the difficulties that any economy can face—sufficient, by itself, to guarantee the ultimate collapse of an economic system. Under managerial economy, too, the long-term production curve can again resume its advance after the decline under dying capitalism. Indeed, during the past decade, the degree to which industrial nations have been able to build up a general production advance is closely correlated to the degree to which they have been transformed along managerial lines : Russia and Germany head the list of great nations ; the United States and France end it. Here, again, we are not concerned with what goods are produced, but with the volume of production relative to population and potential capacity. We may think that some of the goods produced—tanks and bombers for instance—are not worth producing, are positively evil ; we may not think that it is progress to be able to produce more of them ; but, nevertheless, the ability of one system of economy to produce relatively more goods than another system is a decisive indication of their relative survival value. Nor should we be so naive as to imagine that the structural and institutional relations which permit the production of a greater volume of armaments do not also permit the production of a greater volume of other types of goods. Similarly, managerial economy is in a better position than capitalist economy to make use of new inventions and technological devices. It is not restricted by the same profit requirements that often mean a disruption of the capitalist market through a too-sudden introduction of new inventions. This was not the least of the reasons why Nazi Germany was able to overcome, in part through the help of newly invented *ersatz* products, its seemingly hopeless inferiority in resources to France and England, and why Germany at first developed more and better fighting machines.

For the same reason that it is not restricted by the same profit considerations as capitalism, managerial economy can open up undeveloped areas in Africa, Asia, and South America. Managerial economy, by virtue of centralized control of the economy as a whole, is able to plan for and with the economy as a whole; there comes into being a two-year, or four-year, or five-year, or ten-year planning commission for the economy as a whole.

The change to managerial economy is accompanied by political changes. The locus of sovereignty is shifting from parliament, a typical capitalist institution, to other bodies. Sovereignty has already departed from the parliaments of Russia and Germany, and is on its way out from the parliaments of Japan, England and the United States. In Germany and Russia, it is true, a parliament in form is retained as part of the state apparatus. These parliaments occasionally meet and even pass a few motions. But even juridically these parliaments are no longer regarded as possessing the attribute of sovereignty. The laws do not issue from them. Their meetings are simply propaganda devices, like a parade or a radio or press campaign. Even in the United States the claims of Congress (together with the Supreme Court) to sovereignty are not undisputed. Most laws are not being made by Congress, but by the NLRB, SEC, ICC, AAA, TVA, the Office of Production Management, and the other leading " executive agencies ". Lawyers know only too well that this is the case; to keep up with contemporary law, it is the rulings and records of these agencies that they have chiefly to study. Very little control over the State is actually to-day possessed by Congress. Indeed, most of the important laws passed by Congress in recent years have been laws to give up some more of its sovereign powers to one or another agency largely outside of its control.

In the new form of society that is taking shape sovereignty is localized in administrative bureaus. They proclaim the rules, make the laws, issue the decrees. There is no mystery in this shift. It is related to the change in the character of the State's activities. Parliament was the sovereign body of the limited State of capitalism. The bureaus are the sovereign bodies of the unlimited State of managerial society. A State which is building roads and steel mills and houses and electric plants and shipyards, which is the biggest of all bankers and farmers and movie producers, which in the end is the corporate manager of all the major instruments of economic production, cannot be run like the State which collected a few taxes, handled a leisurely diplomacy, and prosecuted offenders against the law. Nor can the same kind of men run it. The actual directing and administrative work of the bureaus requires men specially trained for the work, different from the old parliamentary type; and the new type of administrator is specifically the managerial. The active heads of the bureaus are the managers-in-government—the same, or nearly

the same, in training, functions, skills, habits of thought as the managers-in-industry. Indeed, there is less and less distinction between the two: in Russia, managers-in-industry and managers-in-government are one and the same, since there is no important industry apart from government.

Such, in very bare outline, is the main point of Mr. Burnham's thesis. There are other elements integral to the theory, such as the managerial ideologies and the world policy of the managers, which considerations of space forbid us even to outline. It is a descriptive theory, describing what is happening in the world; the only element of prediction in the theory consists in this, that the social change now taking place will most probably continue in the same direction until managerial society is established on a world scale. "Most probably" is said deliberately, for in dealing with human affairs the intervention of human free will, which may give to the movement a new direction, cannot be altogether excluded. Whether the movement in other countries will be accompanied with violence, mass-murder, "purges," as it was in Russia, time alone will tell with certainty.

Mr. Burnham has produced an essay worthy of careful attention. The truth of his thesis stands or falls solely by the weight of evidence for or against it. He does not inquire into the more remote causes of the present world situation, nor does he pass any value judgment upon it. Yet the knowledge of causes helps greatly to the understanding of events, and what most interests the majority of men is whether they are for good or evil. In this matter many may find Mr. Christopher Dawson a useful guide.

A vital question for every Christian is what attitude the new society will adopt towards religion. Mr. Burnham does not even mention the question. Mr. Dawson is pessimistic. Like Mr. Burnham, he too sees at work in England the same forces which elsewhere have already led to the establishment of the unlimited State, and he thinks that such a State "will make the same universal claims as the Totalitarian State in Russia and Germany and that it will be equally unwilling to tolerate any division of spiritual allegiance." "I believe," he continues, "that it will not be anti-Christian in the Russian sense, or that it will be inspired by any conscious hostility to religion. On the other hand, it will have very little in common with the old liberal State which claimed to be no more than a policeman and left men free to guide their lives by whatever religious or moral standards they chose to adopt. The new State will be universal and omnicompetent. It will mould the mind and guide the life of its citizens from the cradle to the grave. It will not tolerate any interference with its educational functions by any sectarian organization, even though the latter is based on religious convictions."[1]

Another and wider question which arises out of Mr. Burnham's

[1] Dawson: *Religion and the Modern State*, pp. 54-55.

thesis is this: who shall control the managers and how? Every major country has to face the problem of planning economic and social life while retaining the essential human liberties, "without which," as Mr. Burnham's reviewer in *Nature*[1] has said, "the human spirit droops to slavery." The same reviewer goes on to say: "It is unthinkable, however, that professional men, and above all men of science, who have so large a part to play in that planning, will not bring to their task a spirit no less generous and disinterested than they have brought to the quest for truth, or that their professional solidarity, whatever may have been its temporary shortcomings or aberrations, will not remain unshakably loyal to the tradition of service and integrity to which the professions owe alike their essential inspiration and vitality." Few, however, would care to found their hope for the preservation of the essential human liberties on the integrity and disinterestedness of the managers. The possession of too great power corrupts, and the selfish tendencies in most men are more powerful than the altruistic. Though some degree of planning is necessary in present economic and social conditions, control over the power of the planners is equally necessary. How this is to be achieved has been clearly pointed out by the late Holy Father in *Quadragesimo Anno* (p. 37):—

"Just as it is wrong to withdraw from the individual and commit to the community at large what private enterprise and industry can accomplish, so too it is an injustice, a grave evil and a disturbance of right order for a larger and higher organization to arrogate to itself functions which can be performed efficiently by smaller and lower bodies. This is a fundamental principle of social philosophy, unshakable and unchangable, and it retains its full truth to-day. Of its very nature the true aim of all social activity should be to help individual members of the social body, but never to destroy or absorb. The State should leave to these smaller groups the settlement of business of minor importance; it will thus carry out with greater freedom, power, and success the tasks belonging to it, because it alone can effectively accomplish these—directing, watching, stimulating and restraining, as circumstances suggest or necessity demands. Let those in power, therefore, be convinced that the more faithfully this principle be followed, and a graded hierarchical order exist between the various subsidiary organizations, the more excellent will be both the authority and the efficiency of the social organization as a whole, and the happier and more prosperous will be the condition of the State . . . . The aim of social legislation must, therefore, be the re-establishment of vocational groups."

THOMAS BYRNE

[1] *Nature*, October 31, 1942, p. 503.

Mr. BELLOC'S SERVILE STATE AND THE BEVERIDGE PLAN

BY CHRISTOPHER HOLLIS

REFORM in the eyes of the Liberal of the last century meant stopping the State from interfering in some way in which it had previously interfered—a restriction on state activity. When the State interfered, it was assumed that its interference was on behalf of some particular interest, and justice required that the State should do no more than hold the ring. The just wage, just conditions of labour and the just price would be settled in the free market without state interference. Thus the typical Liberal reform of the nineteenth century was the Repeal of the Corn Laws. The Corn Laws, it was argued, had given an unjust advantage to the landlord by artificially protecting him against foreign competition and thus had impoverished the country and the world by keeping British labour at the plough when the world's corn could be more cheaply grown elsewhere.

It is true that there were reforms of another sort in nineteenth century Britain. There were, for instance, the Factory Acts. Liberals were not prominent in pressing for these Acts. For the most part they opposed them, and the Acts were the work of philanthropists, such as Shaftesbury and Sadler—who, in so far as they were politicians, were Tories—or later of the great Conservative leader Disraeli and of his Government—and, in particular, of the Home Secretary Crosse.

The argument for the Factory Acts was that the language of free competition as between the capitalist, who had his fat to live on, and the unorganised worker, who had nothing but his labour to sell, was not a reality. The worker had no real alternative but to accept the offer of wages and conditions made to him or starve. Even the individual capitalist was not wholly free. He could not afford to be generous even if he wished to be, for he was under the overriding necessity of selling his article or going out of business. Therefore he could not, save perhaps in small details, offer better terms than his rivals, or his costs of production would be greater. Therefore, argued the social reformers, justice can only be done if the State interferes not on behalf of the privileged but on behalf of the unprivileged. It must interfere to prevent the worst abuses, which can be forbidden if they are forbidden to everybody, and to create conditions under which the language of free bargaining will have some reality.

But even the social reformers only suggested that the State should, to some extent, control conditions at the factory, and when, later in the century, it was suggested that there should be certain tentative wage regulations, it was not suggested that there should be any control of the spending of that wage. When certain prices were regulated, as the prices of railway tickets and, to some extent, the rents of houses under the Artisans' Dwellings Act, regulation was justified on the plea that conditions of monopoly prevented the free play of competition and that, without state-interference, there would be nothing to prevent the monopolist from charging more than the just price. What was not disputed by either or by any school of thought was that, as Herbert Spencer put it, growth in freedom meant a substitution of a relation of contract for a relation of status between employer and employee. The distinction between the freeman and the serf was marked by the distinction between payment in cash and payment in kind. In so far as in early industrialism there were still instances of people in the mines and factories being paid in tickets on the firm's " toddy " shops rather than in cash to be spent where and how they wished, these were recognised by Liberals and Conservatives alike as most evil abuses to be sternly suppressed.

These distinctions, of course, were by no means admitted in nineteenth-century Germany where the traditions of freedom such as those of British society did not at all exist, and all the Bismarckian social reforms were drafted in a frank indifference to the reimposition of status upon the people. Yet it was a great revolution when Mr. Lloyd George and the Liberal Government of the years before the last war sought to impose the German system upon Great Britain. It was against that revolution that Mr. Belloc made his protest in the *Servile State*.

On the title page of the *Servile State* Mr. Belloc wrote: " If we do not restore the Institution of Property, we cannot escape restoring the Institution of Slavery; there is no third course." Mr. Belloc's argument was that the naked theory of capitalism was so intolerable to the worker that he would gladly accept slavery to escape from it. It was unreasonable to expect him to value his freedom unless freedom was made a reality by being combined with property. However that may be, it is first important to examine what was the argument by which Mr. Belloc sought to establish that the Servile State was returning and what was the sense in which he used his terms. According to Mr. Lloyd George's insurance scheme every week the worker has compulsorily to pay a certain sum, the employer a certain sum and the State a certain sum in insurance both against ill-health and against unemployment. Out of these contributions funds were to be created from which the worker received benefit in the day of sickness or unemployment. It was Mr. Belloc's argument that, in so far as the worker was a freeman with his labour to sell, he should be free to sell it for a wage. It was his own business how he spent the wage,

and it was his own business to make provision—through savings, voluntary insurance or otherwise—against the rainy day of illness or unemployment.

There were, of course, answers to the Bellocian contention. There were some who argued that, though it would be tyranny to dictate to the worker how he should spend his spare money, there was no tyranny in compelling him to save for expenses that were obviously necessary. This was an argument that almost surrendered the case for freedom. It was more plausible if it was put not from the end of the worker but from the end of the State. Society, it was said, did not allow the Ricardian argument to be pushed to the full rigour of its logic. The poor were not left, even in the extremity of misery, to die of starvation or without medical attention. The workhouse and the free hospital were provided for those who could not provide for themselves. Therefore, it was argued, if the State had to provide in emergency, the State had a right to prevent the emergency. Again the argument was both dangerous and specious. The whole case for freedom is based on the claim that the normal man is capable of it. It is always admitted that there is the abnormal for whom special provision is made. The mentally abnormal is shut up in an asylum, but it is not argued that the existence of a few such unfortunates would justify the State in a continual inquisition into the habits of the ordinary citizen on the chance of discovering an occasional lunatic who had been overlooked. The assumption in a free society must be an assumption of normality. A man is presumed innocent until he is proved guilty; he is presumed sane until he is proved mad. In the same way, on the Bellocian argument, he should be presumed to have the common sense to provide of his own against a rainy day, until he is proved incompetent to do so.

A stronger argument for the insurance schemes was that the worker gained out of them in so far as the State and the employer also contributed. He received, in Mr. Lloyd George's not very happy phrase, " ninepence for fourpence." Of course it was open to the defenders of freedom to argue that, if costs could spare the extra fivepence, then the extra fivepence could and should be added to the worker's wages. But it was not really quite as simple as that. The State argued that the extra fivepence could be spared provided that there was guarantee that it was kept to meet emergencies. If it was paid out without any such guarantee and if therefore certain further expenditure was required to provide against the emergencies of the improvident, then the addition of the full fivepence to wages could not be afforded. Similarly, it was argued, it was all very well to tell the worker that he was a freeman and could insure or not as he saw fit. If only a proportion insured, then the cost of insurance must be much higher than if it was universal and compulsory.

There was much dispute, and still is, about the details of statistics;

but there is no reason at all to doubt that there was a substantial validity in these arguments. Freedom, like every other commodity, has its price and it is for men to decide whether the price is worth paying.

It is important to understand, when Mr. Belloc spoke of slavery, whom he foresaw as the slave-masters. He was, of course, as alive as any man to the danger to liberty in the amassing, by civil servants, of carded volumes of information on the citizen's income and habits. He sympathised with the poor man's reluctance to be for ever sticking on stamps and filling up forms. There is every danger that, once the State is asked to pay, then it will demand to control and that information, amassed for one purpose, will be used for another. There are those today who speak somewhat rhetorically of slavery, meaning thereby a state of affairs in which the activities of all of us are controlled and interfered with by the bureaucrats in Whitehall. It was not such tyranny to which Mr. Belloc referred in his *Servile State*. He did not foresee a triumph for socialism either in the bureaucratic or in any other form. On the contrary he argued, writing of course four years before the Bolshevik revolution, that, if a pretence of introducing socialism were made, it would not be the State which would extrude the capitalists but the capitalists who would make themselves masters of the State. He foresaw a society in which major industry was still owned by capitalists, but in which the capitalists no longer as in the past offered work when it paid them to do so but in which they accepted the obligation to keep their workers alive—" from the cradle to the grave," to adapt the phrase which Mr. Churchill has now made famous. The worker in return had to offer his labour to the capitalist when the capitalist required it. On the old estates of the landed families in fact retainers had, generation after generation, worked for the lord of the manor and the lord had accepted the obligation of maintaining them in sickness and old age as well as in work. But there was a great difference between a system where such was the voluntarily accepted normal custom and one in which it was a fixed legal obligation. The former did not work under strain precisely because the exceptional man who resented it could escape from it and seek adventure when he wished. The latter must necessarily be under strain through the need of submitting the exceptional man to it.

Mr. Belloc wrote before the last war, and it is surprising how well on the whole his analysis has stood up to the extraordinary changes of the last thirty years. Yet there have been, as was only to be expected, developments that were not foreseen by him, and in particular one which, while it leaves much that is valuable in his analysis, yet invalidates its conclusion. He wrote at a time when taxation was still so light as to seem to the modern taxpayer to be almost derisory and when the capitalist was still master in his own house to an extent far greater than today. He demonstrates validly that the capitalist would not be extruded if, at the time of national-

isation, he was compensated. Confiscation alone would extrude him. He did not foresee that the capitalist's wealth, though it would not be confiscated in the act of state purchase, would be virtually confiscated by taxation. Even before the present war taxation had risen to such a height that savings to finance industry, as Mr. Colin Clark's statistics have shown, were no longer coming from the individual rich capitalist. On balance the rich were withdrawing from industry more than they were putting into it. The savings to finance industry were coming out of the financial institutions, the banks, the friendly societies and even to a considerable extent from the trades unions. The management, in practice if not in theory, was coming more and more to be but the employee of finance capitalism rather than the owner of the business. In the 1920's it would have been fair to have described the system of British industry as one of finance capitalism. Then in 1931 that system in its turn collapsed owing to the proven inability of the banks to manage it, and the control of the monetary policy passed from the hands of the Bank of England to those of the Treasury, whose servant the banks very largely became. With the coming of the war there was added to this indirect monetary control of industry by the Treasury the direct administrative control of government regulation. When the war is ended, there will doubtless be a measure of relaxation of this control. But we are continually being warned not to expect an immediate abolition of all the wartime regulations; and, if we judge from experience of the past, it will be extremely surprising if many of the emergency regulations do not remain permanently in force. It is not the bait of bureaucrats to let go of power on which they have once got their clutches.

That being so, the precise danger which Mr. Belloc foresaw is no longer a serious danger. There is no longer a serious danger of the worker becoming the slave of the capitalist. The much more real danger is that the worker and the capitalist will both become—I will not say the slave for that would be inexact, but—the instrument of the bureaucrat. Whereas in the *Servile State* Mr. Belloc saw, as one of the marks of slavery in the Lloyd George scheme, the differentiation between worker and capitalist —by which, while the worker was compelled to insure himself, the capitalist was not—under the Beveridge Plan *all* are to be insured. The collection of the fees is to be taken out of the hands of the employer and put into those of the new Ministry of Social Security.

Again Mr. Belloc noted as one of the marks of slavery the proposal of compulsory arbitration, by which the worker would be compelled to work for his employer on the given terms. The employer, under those earlier schemes, would not be compelled to offer work. But in all modern schemes the compulsion will rest upon worker and employer alike. The lock-out will be forbidden just as much as the strike. The worker will be compelled to work on the given terms, and the employer to offer work

on them. The day has gone when even a capitalist can do what he likes with his own, and the factory that is not run according to the taste of the bureaucrat is now ruthlessly seized and put under public control.

What defences have we against this overpowerfulness of the bureaucrat? The argument that there can be no danger of excess because the country's constitution is democratic is but a verbalism. Parliamentary democracy may be preserved and may have its field wherein it can usefully function, but it is clear that this all-inclusive system, if it is adopted at all, will have to be adopted once and for all. It cannot be imposed and removed every five years with the changing fortunes of general elections. Parliamentary control of it, once its erection has been sanctioned, cannot possibly be more than nominal. In fact the administration must be in the hands of irremovable and irresponsible bureaucrats.

It is indeed a certain curiosity that the Beveridge Plan should have been thrown upon the world at this moment. It is more than possible that the downfall of Hitler will find the world still very far from a state of peace and that we shall have to preserve discipline and control for military reasons—that is to say, that we shall have to remain mobilised. But, if there should be real peace again, then the world, freed from the need of armaments, can produce a vast quantity of consumable goods. It will be far richer than it has ever been before. If so, it would seem that the case for a wide extension of compulsory insurance would not be a strong one. As was said above, the one strong argument for compulsion is that of economy. People cannot be expected to save out of a subsistence wage; and in an era of poverty, when no waste can be afforded, it may be necessary compulsorily to earmark savings so as to make sure that they be reserved for necessities. But in an era of abundance, where we can afford to allow the foolish to make a few mistakes, the case for liberty is surely overwhelming.

The Beveridge Plan does, it is true, if its figures should prove correct, offer glittering prizes to those who are lucky enough to be unemployed. But it only achieves this by a ruse of doubtful justice. All have to contribute where only a few are ever likely to enjoy the benefit. It is not merely the rich who have to contribute for the benefit of the poor. Taxation after the war will be so heavy that there will be very few rich people and any additional taxes will only be obtainable either through indirect taxation on the poor or by increasing the income-tax on lower incomes. But wage-earners fall roughly into two classes—those who receive higher wages and less secure jobs, and those who, like (say) postal workers or agricultural labourers, receive lower wages but are glad to do so because they have security in their job. Under the Beveridge Plan the secure but low-paid will have to make a weekly contribution to an unemployment benefit which they are certain never to need but which will be enjoyed by the more highly-paid worker in the less secure industry. Similarly

with health insurance. The country worker has a lower wage but lives a healthier life than the town worker. His need of a doctor is less. Yet under the Beveridge Plan he will have to contribute towards the doctor whom he does not want equally with his richer fellow-worker in the town, who has the greater need of the facilities. From this point of view the Beveridge Plan, by the equality of its contributions, will be an encouragement to inequality. The poorer will be penalised to benefit the richer.

The March number of STUDIES contained an admirable article, summarising the provisions of the Beveridge Report, from the pen of Father Lucey. There is no need here to repeat Father Lucey's details. The present writer would only join issue with his estimate of its great popularity. That appearance of popularity was, I fancy, always to a large extent a manufacture of the newspapers. A number of M.P.'s have told me that they have not received a single letter about it from their constituents. While the newspapers emphasised the benefits to be derived from the Plan to so disproportionate an extent that one might almost imagine that these benefits were to be free gifts, the ordinary poor worker will in fact be most conscious of the very considerable weekly contribution of 4s. 6d, which to many a worker will just make the difference between being able to save and not being able to save. The British Government behaved with wisdom in its refusal to be stampeded by the Press, and it is interesting that Father Lucey should think that it will be necessary for the Government of Eire to imitate such legislation as the British Government may introduce if wholesale emigration to Great Britain or to Northern Ireland is to be prevented. Mr. Belloc in his *Servile State*, it will be remembered, made the point that the Irish nation would prevent the coming of slavery to Europe by their refusal ever to admit such legislation into Ireland, and it is indeed the opinion of the present writer that a wholesale introduction of the Beveridge Plan into Great Britain would be much more likely to cause a rush of emigration from England to Ireland than one from Ireland to England. In any event the Messianic enthusiasm has now passed. Public interest has largely abated, and the suggestions can now be examined by experts in cool leisure—some doubtless to be adopted and others, perhaps the majority, to be rejected.

A conservative case is never ridiculous. When Mr. Belloc attacked Mr. Lloyd George's proposals in 1910, he was rightly able to attack them as novel and revolutionary. Since then the British workman has had thirty years of experience of compulsory insurance. He is accustomed to it. It is now part of the life of our country, and no wise man can suggest that it should be abolished at one stroke of the pen. Nor can there be any sensible objection to detailed reorganisation and co-ordination so as to make existing schemes more easily workable. Nevertheless the road of progress, more particularly in a world of abundance, is certainly towards

greater freedom. In so far as the Beveridge Plan proposes to extend compulsory insurance, it is a reactionary scheme.

The true line of progress is surely clear and it is that indicated by Mr. Belloc in the sentence on the title-page of the *Servile State*—the line of the restoration of property. The distributists in England have been perhaps a little at fault in thinking too nearly exclusively of agricultural property when they spoke of property. There is a very great deal to be said for the superiority of the farming and agricultural life over others and for the country's need of a peasant proprietary. There is a great need in the country for an agricultural revival. Yet we have to accept facts as they are and, for better or for worse, England is a country where the vast majority, whatever the exact figure may be in the future, must make their living otherwise than from the land. The great political issue twenty years ago—the issue whether the big industries of the country shall come under State control or remain in private hands—is today little more than a dispute in verbalism. Not one person in ten thousand would notice the difference if the British railways should be finally nationalised to-morrow, nor would he care twopence if they were or not. The shareholders would be grateful. Big business is coming, and perhaps inevitably must come, increasingly under the thumb of the bureaucracy. Bureaucrats are human beings who, like other human beings, have their virtues and their faults. Sweeping denunciations of them are not justified. Yet of them, as of other wielders of power, the judgment of Lord Acton is true : " Power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely." Bureaucracy unchallenged has all the vices of Fascism. The greater the power of the bureaucrats, the greater the importance of keeping as large as possible the independent section of the population who do not have to look to them for their livelihood and who can therefore dare to criticise them. That is to say, it is important that, as far as possible, people should be encouraged and be able to save, that they should, where possible, invest their savings or a part of them in their own business, and that they should meet the emergencies of life out of their own savings which they themselves control and for the use of which they have to answer to no man. That is freedom. Its opposite is the system advocated by Sir William Beveridge —where, to quote the words of his report, " the correlative of the State's undertaking to ensure adequate benefit for unavoidable interruptions of earnings, however long, is enforcement of the citizen's obligation to seek and accept all reasonable opportunities of work, to co-operate in measures designed to save him from habituation to idleness, and to take all proper measures to be well."

CHRISTOPHER HOLLIS

FATHER VINCENT McNABB, O.P.

1868—1943

BY BERNARD DELANY, O.P.

FATHER Vincent McNabb, who ended an amazing life by a truly amazing death in London on the 17th of June, 1943, was born at Portaferry in County Down on the 8th of July, 1868. More than once was he heard to say: "Ireland, my own beloved country, I love as a mother: and England, the land of my adoption, I love as a wife." And he would sometimes add, with that indescribable smile,—"and I am one of those who believe that a man's wife can sometimes learn a thing or two from his mother." He was christened on the 12th of July, amidst the celebrations associated with that day in that part of Ireland. All his life he suffered from a bilious affection, and in his humorous way he put the blame for his "protestant stomach" upon the Orange drums that sounded on the day he was taken to the font. It was to the parish church of St. Patrick at Ballyphilip, half a mile away, that his mother carried him very soon afterwards to offer him to his patron St. Joseph with the prayer Father Vincent never forgot: "Here he is: Take him and do what you like with him."

He was the tenth of eleven children and the seventh son. His father was a sea captain whose duties obliged him to move with his young family to Belfast where the five younger McNabb boys went to St. Malachy's College and were contemporaries of Jeremiah McVeagh and John MacNeill. In the book he wrote about his mother, *Eleven, Thank God*, Father Vincent has described something of the home life of the family in Belfast—where, in spite of their surroundings, "religion was never a doleful element in a valley of tears." "We boys had great pity for the poor protestant boys whose only permissible saints were Queen Elizabeth and William the third; and who would be punished for playing games or whistling on Sundays." The mother of the McNabb household made Sunday the happiest day of the week, which recalled memories of Sunday Mass, followed by the delight of sitting in the kitchen before the fire basting the family joint and then a pleasant Sunday afternoon making (and eating) home-made toffee.

Father Vincent used to refer to his life in a large family as the best possible training for the future religious in the virtues of poverty, chastity and obedience. In early boyhood he was stricken by a serious illness, some form of tuberculosis of the spine, and pronounced incurable by two specialists. "But," said Father Vincent when speaking of this on the day of his priestly golden jubilee, "fortunately I had a mother who never took medical advice too seriously." She brought him to a third doctor, under whose skilful treatment the boy regained health and strength. When

he was declared cured, his generous young heart began to turn in gratitude to God, and the idea of his vocation began to take shape. " God had given me back my life and I must give to others what God had given to me." He described this call, in the homely setting of his Irish birth-place, in these words : " On the day I was born and in the place I was born the current was swiftly running that had borne Patrick back to the place of his slavery some fifteen hundred years ago. This runaway slave was coming back to his slave-masters in the land of his slavery to give gifts—the gifts by which God makes men free. Strangford flows from the sea and then, when the tide turns, the Lough gives back to the sea all that it has borrowed. Only a few miles from where I was born lies the heart of Patrick, the one slave who went back to slaves to set them free . . . . God had given me my life. My life must go back to Him."

Father Vincent never lost his love for Ireland : he wept for her sorrows. He wrote of the social ills that made Ireland bleed. In an essay, " The Voice of the Irish," with all the poetry of a romantic soul and the nostalgia of the exiled Gael, he describes the cry of the Irish as " the sob of my blood-kindred whom years of exile have not torn from my heart." Listen to words he wrote in the *Belfast News Letter* in 1900 under the title, " Strangford Lough and the Ards " :

" If you wish to feel the beauties of the Ards and its incomparable Strangford Lough, do as circumstances obliged me to do. Quit your native land a raw youth of seventeen summers, pass fourteen years in England and on the Continent. Then, fagged and run down with work, snatch a fortnight from the heart of July, as I did last year, and spend it in Portaferry . . . . When the train had gained the heart of the country, suddenly a span of fourteen years was lifted from my life, and as the perfume of burning turf and mountain heather came through the open carriage window it was boyhood with me once again . . . .

" The writer, to rescue the Ards from oblivion, must be a poet, though he may never have written a line in metre. But, above all else, he must be sprung from the soil. Were he born on the shores of the Lough, I should be surer of his inspiration. He must love the people and their simple ways. And I could wish him no higher blessing, no more lasting honour, than to lie in death in some fair open God's acre by the shores of the Lough, so that, when the wind is blowing from the waters, his name upon the stone over his head might be wet with the wild spray of the fiord he has loved and served so well."

In 1937, thirty-seven years after he wrote these words, Ireland might have claimed him for ever and he might have had the desirable grave he wrote of so eloquently. He was attempting to fulfil two engagements on top of one another in his usual headlong way, one in Dublin and the other in Belfast. It was during the railway strike ; and, in spite of his intense dislike for motor cars (because of their menace to little children),

he was obliged to accept the help that only motor transport could give. The driver, in his haste to beat the clock and get Father Vincent to his destination, cut a corner too sharply, overturned the car, and deposited his Reverend passenger out on the side of the road. Whatever the shock may have been, Father Vincent treated it very lightly, saying it served him right for using such devices of the devil as motor cars ; and he told with pleasure that, in spite of having to wait for another " Devil's device," he was only a few minutes late for the appointment in the Lecture Hall in Belfast.

The " raw youth of seventeen summers," as he described himself above, was admitted into the Noviciate of the English Dominicans at Woodchester in November, 1885. His own account of it was characteristically simple and emphatic : " I did not want to go to Hell, so I went to Woodchester "—a new and consoling variation of the grim Cromwellian alternative. He wrote to the President of St. Malachy's College, who had been his professor for years and afterwards became Bishop of Down and Connor, for the usual testimonial letters. The learned man, mindful of the pranks and escapades of the Joe McNabb he had known so well, sent a brief reply which ended with the none too encouraging words : " I give you six months." He would have been nearer the mark if he had said " sixty years " ; for Father Vincent came near to keeping his diamond jubilee in the habit of religion, which was first put upon him on the 28 November 1885 by the English Provincial, Father Antoninus Williams, the uncle of the present Archbishop of Birmingham. His profession followed in due course and he was ordained priest by Bishop Clifford of Clifton on 19 September 1891. Three weeks later he was sent to Louvain, where he spent three years which made an indelible impression upon him and gave him his life-long affection for Belgium and her people. He returned to England in 1894 with the degree of Lector of Theology and was appointed Professor of Philosophy at Woodchester. In 1897 he was appointed Professor of Theology at Hawkesyard and remained there until his return to Woodchester as Prior in 1900. After six years as Prior he was appointed to St. Dominic's, London, in 1906 and then went to Holy Cross, Leicester as Prior, in 1908. In 1913 he sailed to New York for the purpose of preaching in America and collecting funds for the building of a new church in Leicester ; but it was said that he was such a poor " beggar " that people did not even know that he had come across the Atlantic on a begging mission. It was characteristic of him that he travelled with the steerage passengers, with whom he was immensely popular.

While Prior of Holy Cross, Leicester, Father Vincent had an influence far beyond the bounds of the little Catholic community of what is largely a nonconformist population, and his sermons drew numbers of non-Catholics to the old church in Wellington Street. Among those

who came to his sermons at this time were the two ladies, then only recently converted to the Faith, Miss Katharine Harris Bradley and Miss Edith Cooper, who wrote under name Michael Field. They became Father Vincent's spiritual children, and he attended them both in their last hours: the elder of the two was laid to rest in the little cemetery at Hawkesyard soon after Father Vincent became Prior there in 1914.

The war stirred Father Vincent deeply, especially as it affected Belgium, whose cause he gallantly took up, going about the country lecturing on her behalf and raising funds for Belgian Relief. This generous service was recognised by the King of the Belgians, who made him a Chevalier de l'Ordre de la Couronne, a distinction he greatly prized as coming from the land he loved and where he had spent three happy years as a student of Theology.

It was while Prior of Hawkesyard that he made common cause with Eric Gill and Hilary Peplar, whom he frequently invited to the Priory. Between them they strove to work out those principles of social doctrine, work and art, and their relations to agriculture and modern industry which came to be associated with the group known as "Distributist". Armed with the *Summa* of St. Thomas and the papal encyclicals, especially *Rerum Novarum*, they set out upon a perhaps too idealistic campaign of social justice and economic emancipation. Father Vincent was the enthusiastic inspirer of the group, its theological adviser, and often the mouth-piece who put its ideals into terse and epigrammatic utterance. Chesterton and Belloc lent their aid in their paper, which, beginning as *The Eye Witness*, became successively *The New Witness* and *G. K.'s Weekly*, and now continues as *The Weekly Review*. Some of Father Vincent's war-cries were (and are still) memorable :—

"Farmers should farm primarily for self-support. They should sell as little and buy as little as possible."

"The divine right of property means, not that some men shall have all property but that all men shall have some property."

"The natural defence of freedom is the home; and the natural defence of the home is the homestead."

"There are only Things and Tokens. The world-wide economic crisis, if it exists, is a dearth of things, not of tokens."

"Now a dearth of things cannot be met by the creation or re-distribution of tokens. A dearth of things can be met only by a creation or re-distribution of things.

"Art is the right way of making right things. There is no right way of making wrong things. There is no good way of making a bad chair, a bad loaf or a bad poem. There is no best way of washing a floor dirty, of making an uneatable pie or of committing adultery or of going to hell!"

The late G. K. Chesterton was a friend and admirer of Father Vincent, and he has written these words: "I will say briefly and firmly that he is one of the few great men I have met in my life; that he is great in many ways, mentally and morally and mystically and practically." Chesterton

praised " his democratic, we might almost say demagogic, energy . . . . For he really is a popular speaker, in the rare sense of having real popular sympathies ; and no man in modern politics has so firmly and even fiercely loved the people."

It would require a man of equal calibre and energy to appraise and do justice to this many-sided character. Nearly forty published books of varying merit are to his credit, besides innumerable pamphlets and articles scattered in reviews and newspapers. Father Vincent combined work of this exacting kind with the duties of preacher, lecturer and Catholic Evidence Speaker on the open-air platforms within walking distance of his Priory. Yet no one was more assiduous in his attendance at his Confessional, where large flocks of penitents awaited him ; nor was anyone more regular, in punctual observance, at the divine office and the religious exercises of the Community.

As professor and teacher of Theology and Philosophy Father Vincent was ever ready and eager to stimulate his young students, and they found in him an inspiration in all their apostolic ambitions. It was he who first suggested the translation of the *Summa* of St. Thomas into English. This was considered a visionary scheme, excellent in its way but quite impracticable. Who would read St. Thomas in English ? Those likely to be interested would always be able to read him in the original Latin. And, then, would it not require a small fortune to subsidise it ? Father Vincent's answer to these doubts was to set to work himself on the job. He began on the Tertia Pars and was soon to rejoice to find that his colleague, Father Lawrence Shapcote, discovered himself as one gifted for the specialised work of translating St. Thomas's concentrated Latin ; and in due course Father Lawrence translated the entire *Summa Theologica* and *Contra Gentes* as well as *De Potentia* and some of the *Opuscula*. The success of the undertaking was seen to be assured with the publication of the first volume. This was one of the joyful triumphs of Father Vincent's life, and he did not underrate the importance of adding this classic to the English language.

If Father Vincent had not been a Dominican, with his gifts of mind and heart and his manifest streak of genius he could have achieved eminence in literature ; he might have shone in the law (what an advocate he would have made !) ; or he might have been a great force in politics. But the call of God made him a priest and a preacher, and he put all the energy of his mind, all the passionate zeal of his soul into that most sublime of all vocations.

What was the explanation of his power as a preacher ? Because his manner (and mannerisms) were against him. He was somewhat hampered by a kind of halting, hesitating utterance ; sometimes he seemed unduly aggressive, with a hectoring and even sarcastic tone ; and on occasion seemed to get a bit lost and meander. Clearly he was a man of genius,

and he had no time or use for the niceties of form. He held and laid it down to his students that, in preaching, the remote preparation counted for everything, the immediate preparation for nothing. It was his theory, upon which he himself acted, that a preacher should be always prepared: his whole life and every minute of it was his preparation for the official duty of breaking the word of God. (St. Bernard taught this same doctrine). When he was Regent of Studies at Hawkesyard, the students had to submit their sermons to him in manuscript before preaching them in the refectory. He would read the sermon, criticise it, and then tear it up in your presence and say: "Now, dear Brother, you will preach that sermon this evening at supper." Once the dear Brother had had this painful experience he took care to have two copies of his manuscript, one for the Regent's waste-paper basket and the other for eleventh hour preparation.

The result of such a method was that sometimes Father Vincent's sermons flopped; but at other times he would soar to the heavens and speak with an angel's tongue as one inspired. Some marvellous, mystical and prophetic urge—that "demogogic energy," as Chesterton called it—seemed to seize him and personality broke through all obstacles, and his hearers, forgetting voice and tone and manner, found themselves caught in the spell of the disembodied truth he showed them. His asides and impromptus and biting epigrams were sometimes the most effective and memorable parts of his sermons. I remember him suddenly saying in a retreat conference to our community at Oxford: "Most of us will probably die in our beds—and it will be entirely our own faults." (It is to be noted that he himself evaded that fault). During the same retreat he one day brought in with him a very large tome, which looked like the whole of the *Summa* of St. Thomas in one volume. He sat down and held the great book in his lap; he thumped it and said: "I was educated on *that*. That's what I call having a university education." I was sitting within reach of his eye and he caught a grin on my face. He looked over and said: "Yes,—a university education! Some people seem to think a university is a group of buildings surrounded by a motor factory."

From his earliest student days Father Vincent had devised a simple but ingenious system of note-keeping which he kept up all his life. These notes—comprising quotations with his own comments, reflexions and elaborations on every conceivable subject—grew to enormous proportions. Carefully filed and indexed, they enabled him to make up for the drawback of a leaking memory, which he so often complained of, to give permanence to the passing thought and to recall his ideas at will. Those bulky concertina files, which occupied the book-shelf in his cell along with his Bible and his *Summa*, provided the storehouse and workshop from which his sermons, lectures and articles came. They made him the quick ready speaker he was. Some of his books, which are somewhat erratically put together like gems strung together at random, grew out of these notes and bear the obvious stamp of their origin.

So many people saw Father Vincent under so many different aspects—the mixed crowd round his Sunday afternoon platform at Marble Arch; the ordinary Londoner (always indifferent to and quite tolerant of eccentricity) who didn't exactly know what to make of this strangely clad friar with the big army boots and ancient battered hat—and each saw him from his own particular angle of vision. The poor of St. Pancras and the slums of London, N.W. 5, knew him as friend, father and counsellor, though they may have known nothing of his learning and never read a line he had written: the same may be said of the penitents who flocked round his "box" and owed so much to his priestly sympathy. The wise and the unlettered, the great and the simple, the young and the old—every kind of person came to him and each was impressed with some facet of his greatness. All, even the most superficial, as Mr. Hilaire Belloc has written in a brief and gracious tribute, marvelled at his unmistakable holiness. His was by no means a flawless character. There were those who found in him much that jarred. His egotism, explain it how you will, his demonstrative, emphatic, assertive, argumentative and explosive ways were no doubt the eccentricities of genius; yet over them all and through them all shone the bright light of obvious holiness, a keen sense of humour, the disciplined charity which never allowed an unkind word or a harsh judgement of any person, the unselfishness of the saint, ready and eager to serve the least of Christ's little ones.

Poverty and asceticism were not just negative renunciations, but positive living forces in a strong energetic soul. His dramatic, ostentatious and public acts of humility, his penitential practices—sleeping on the floor and never using a chair in his cell except as a book-stand—these things we came to accept as just part of the man and the simple expression of his ideal of surrender to God's will. They were completely sincere and proof of his utter simplicity and had nothing to do with any attempt to impress or show off. Such behaviour in anyone else, who should attempt a slavish imitation, would only produce a ludicrous caricature.

As a man lives, so he dies: and the way Father Vincent died, unique and himself up to the end, proves the sincerity of his life. All he did—his crusade for social justice, his exhortations to people to quit the towns and go back to the land, his work for the unity of Christendom, his urging the laity to study Scripture and Theology, his work for the Catholic Evidence Guild and preaching under the open sky—all were the outcome of his complete dedication to the cause of God. Everything became a means and an opportunity for communicating the good news to a world that was losing the very idea of God. He asked, before he died, if he could have the simplest funeral possible. He wanted a lay-brother to make a plain coffin of ordinary deal. "I don't want to go to Kensal Green in a thing like a Victorian chiffonier." He wanted us to hire an old truck, place the coffin upon it, mount two acolytes and a cross-bearer

at the head, and so take what was left of him to the cemetery. " It will be the best sermon on death I ever preached," he said. The Prior carried out the spirit rather than the letter of these instructions. But I think that last simple request throws much light on his unusual life and on the very original method of his apostolate. As was said at his Requiem, he became a living sermon.

Father Vincent asked that St. Peter's words addressed to the risen Christ, " Lord, thou knowest all things, thou knowest that I love thee," should be painted in Greek on his coffin.[1] He had his own way of interpreting these words and he believed that they should read : " Thou knowest *if* I love thee " ; and he maintained that none of us could ever know, without special revelation, whether we really loved God—but God knows. The words might have well been the motto of his life : they reveal the glorious ideal by which he lived. For all he said, all he did, all that he was, were the expression of his burning love for his Master.

May he rest in peace.

BERNARD DELANY

[1] The following extract from a sermon preached by Fr. Vincent in 1929 throws light on this request :—

" Our life can hardly be said to have begun until this question has been put to us : ' Lovest thou Me more than these others ? ' When we have answered it, ' Thou knowest,' our spiritual life has begun the great way of cleansing, of regeneration. The first love of our soul is the master-light of our being . . . . That is the question Death will ask. How blessed shall we be, if we can cast our burden for ever and for ever on the Lord and, with growing humility, we can say ; ' Lord, Thou knowest all things : *Thou seest that I love Thee.* ' "

CANTERBURY AND ARMAGH IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

BY AUBREY GWYNN, S.J.

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THE Clarendon Press have produced a noble volume in the fourth year of world-wide devastation.[1] Five years ago All Souls College celebrated the quincentenary of its foundation (1438). The Warden and Fellows of the College decided that part of the commemoration should be the publication, in four handsome volumes, of the episcopal register of their founder, Archbishop Chichele of Canterbury. The second volume of this scholarly undertaking has appeared already, but the present volume —which contains an elaborate Introduction by Professor E. F. Jacob of Manchester, as well as a large section of the register itself—will be long remembered as a model for other workers in this very technical and difficult field of research. Irish readers may be grateful for a commentary on this fine edition of a Canterbury register from the point of view of contemporary Irish history.

I have mentioned Professor Jacob's fellow-workers, and it is only right that the names of two ladies should be recorded here, for they have plainly contributed more than their ordinary share to this learned volume. I quote from Professor Jacob's preface: "The bulk of the work of transcription fell upon Miss Ethel Stokes, of the British Record Society, and, in even greater measure, upon Miss Isobel Thornley, who met her death by enemy action on 6 February 1941. My gratitude to these two scholars is very great. To Miss Thornley I further owe many useful notes on benefices. She was assiduously at work on the register for fully three years. The late Canon Foster gave great assistance in identifying difficult place-names in the diocese of Lincoln." There is here a lesson in the value of team-work that may excite the envy of Irish historical students. We are individualists in this country, and we prefer to do things our own way. But history branches out into so many fascinating and often necessary by-ways that team-work becomes a necessity if the work is to be done well. When shall we have our Irish equivalent to such bodies as the British Record Society, the Canterbury and York Society or the Society for the Study of Place Names?

Take as an example the problems that arise from the make-up of any one of our surviving medieval registers. The rash student who first asks to be allowed to study one of these registers finds himself usually

[1] *The Register of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury*, (1414-1443). Edited by E. F. Jacob. Vol. I. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1943. 15/- nett.
(Professor Jacob is Professor of Medieval History in the University of Manchester and Fellow of All Souls College).

confronted by an exceedingly bulky volume containing some hundreds of vellum or paper leaves—almost all of which are covered with entries in a large number of exceedingly illegible hands. It is not an attractive prospect, and the difficulty is not lessened by the suspicion that the volume which he is handling to-day may originally have been two or perhaps more separate volumes. There is in fact no sound warrant for the assumption that every entry contained in a register to which some prelate's name has been attached for centuries necessarily belongs to the record of his administration. Archbishop Chicele's register is an unusually well-preserved and elaborate specimen of an episcopal register; the Archbishop was himself a trained administrator, and he could count on the work of a highly-trained technical staff of notaries and other officials. His register consists of two large volumes, the first of which contains 490 leaves, the second 411 leaves. The entries cover the whole period of his long pontificate, from March 1414 (a few months before the opening sessions of the Council of Constance) to the Archbishop's death in April 1443. There is in the Public Library at Armagh a large contemporary volume, commonly known as Archbishop Swayne's register. John Swayne was provided to the vacant see of Armagh in January 1418—a few weeks before the final session of the Council of Constance. He resigned in 1439 and was dead before October 1442. There is thus a very close parallel between the careers of these two churchmen who ruled the sees of Armagh and Canterbury under Henry V and Henry VI of England. Their surviving registers throw vivid light on the contrast between Canterbury at the height of its medieval splendour (a hundred years before the reign of Henry VIII) and Armagh—which had been reduced to poverty, almost to destitution, by two centuries of strife between the English and Irish clergy of the diocese and province.

Swayne's register is far from being a complete record of the Primate's episcopal activities. Dr. Chart produced a very imperfect English calendar of its contents in 1935.[1] But the volume which he edited contains a great deal that has no connection with Archbishop Swayne's career, and omits some leaves which were once part of his register and have now strayed into other volumes in the series of Armagh registers. Professor Jacob opens his examination of Chichele's register with a very helpful analysis of the various smaller sections from which the two present volumes have been composed. His conclusion is that "the register as a whole must be thought of as originally a collection of unbound quires, grouped according to the subject-matter, capable of receiving insertions as well as liable to subtractions, the ultimate order of the groups perhaps not finally determined." What was true in Canterbury seems also to have been true in Armagh. One small section of Swayne's register has got astray and is now part of the bulkiest of all the Armagh volumes—the late fifteenth-

[1] *The Register of Primate Swayne*, edited by D. A. Chart (Belfast, 1935).

century volume known as " Octavian's register." Two or three other stray leaves are now bound with the surviving fragments of the earliest small volume in the series—the register of Milo Sweteman who was Archbishop of Armagh from 1362 to 1380. A group of stray leaves were once accessible to Sir James Ware, who made brief notes from them in a manuscript which is now in the British Museum. The first and last quires of the register have been lost; and there is no record at all of the Primate's institutions and exchanges. But there is a large collection of miscellaneous documents (153 folios) which corresponds with the seventh section of Chichele's register. This volume also includes a collection of Swayne's private papers and a small volume of Armagh entries for 1435-51.

How are we to account for these vagaries ? Professor Jacob points out that the present binding of the two volumes of Chichele's register dates from the early sixteenth-century, when most of the older Canterbury registers seem to have been either bound for the first time or re-bound. There are many indications which suggest that the Armagh registers were bound for the first time in the seventeenth century—most probably under the direction of Archbishop Ussher, in whose custody these volumes then were. Ussher was a great scholar, but he was a hasty worker—and he certainly does not seem to have taken much trouble to make sure that the medieval registers of his predecessors were properly examined and repaired when he gave the order for binding them.

Turning for a moment from the registers to the men whose activities are recorded in these volumes, there is at first sight much that is curiously similar in the lives of Henry Chichele and John Swayne. Both were men of humble birth, who rose to the highest ecclesiastical position in their native country thanks to the age-old democratic traditions of the Catholic Church. Henry Chichele was the third son of a burgess of Higham Ferrers in Northamptonshire, who got his chance thanks to the Lancastrian connections of his home. Two of his brothers were later to become aldermen in the city of London. There is an attractive story that Wykeham, the great Chancellor of England who founded Winchester College and New College, Oxford, saw a young shepherd tending his flocks, spoke to him, and decided to give him his chance of priesthood and study. Professor Jacob, who is inclined to discount this story as legend, points out that the records of Winchester College show us other examples of young boys from poor families whose homes were more remote from the centres of political or social influence than Higham Ferrers. Whatever the truth as to the first opportunity given to a promising young lad, there is no doubt that Henry Chichele was sent to Winchester—then the finest training-ground for any English student who wished to become a devout and active priest. From Winchester he passed to Oxford; from Oxford (where he became a bachelor in the school of law) to London, where he seems to have done legal work in the court of Canterbury. He

took his D.C.L. in 1396, made valuable connections in Salisbury (where he became first canon, then archdeacon, finally chancellor and Bishop Medford's confidential adviser), and got his first opportunity of service under Henry IV in the complicated negotiations which preceded the sessions of the Council of Pisa. The Great Schism was now in its last phase, and the English King was manoeuvring for a favourable settlement of this greatest of international problems, which he (not unnaturally) judged from an English point of view.

John Swayne first appears as a clerk of the diocese of Kildare seeking a dispensation as of illegitimate birth—a dispensation that was granted with alarming frequency in fifteenth-century Ireland. That he was of English birth, if that term may be used as it was then commonly used to distinguish between the two contending races in Ireland, is plain from many later records and from the whole trend of his career. There was no university in this country when Swayne was a boy—for the scheme for a small University of St. Patrick's, Dublin, which had given promise of success in the early fourteenth century, had come to nothing. John Swayne—like many of his contemporaries, whether of Irish or English birth—sought his fortunes abroad. By November 20, 1408, he had won his D.C.L. and had moreover been elected as Rector of the University of Siena. Of his earlier studies we know nothing, but it is plain that the man's ability, without any other natural advantage, had brought him to the top in one of the Italian Universities. He had also, as we might expect, got in touch with the Roman court of Gregory XII. England had belonged to the Roman obedience from the beginning of the Schism, and Gregory was now the Roman Pope to whom the King of England gave his official recognition. But Henry IV had already begun to toy with plans for the deposition of both rival Popes and the election of a neutral successor. John Swayne's name appears on a list of six English clerks whom the King ordered to return at once to England in May 1407, "with all possible speed and without any excuse, for urgent and notable causes." The paths of Henry Chichele and John Swayne cross here for the first time.

From the autumn of 1406 to the late summer of 1408 Chichele, at that time still chancellor of Salisbury, was abroad on the King's service in the Roman court. He and Swayne must certainly have met in those years, though it is not easy to be sure of Swayne's share in the negotiations that were then on foot. Though Henry IV had sent his peremptory mandate to the six English clerks in May 1407, it seems clear that Swayne remained in Italy, though he probably withdrew for a time from the papal court. He was Rector of the University of Siena in the following year, and we may take it as morally certain that he was one of the English clerks who attended the Council of Pisa in 1409—though I have not been able to find any positive proof of his presence at its sessions. That Council deposed, or claimed to have deposed, both Gregory XII and Benedict

XIII. England recognised the new Pisan Pope (Alexander V) and his highly irregular successor John XXIII. We get glimpses of John Swayne as a clerk attached to the court of these two Popes during the next few years, and it becomes possible to trace the various Irish benefices to which he was nominated as an absentee during these years. He had been a canon of Dublin since 1404, and was also canon of Ferns and rector of Galtrim in Meath. In 1413 John XXIII provided Swayne to the rich prebend of Swords, and a few months later we find him claiming the archdeaconry of Meath. There were many other enterprising clerks who profited by the lax administration of John XXIII's court to build for themselves careers of this type in those years of confusion and disintegration. But the Council of Constance, which met towards the end of 1414, brought Swayne's career for a time to an abrupt close by the deposition of his patron, the Pisan Pope.

Meanwhile Henry Chichele, backed by his powerful English patrons and with all the advantages of an irreproachable training and wide experience, had been raised to the episcopate by Gregory XII in October 1408. His first see was the Welsh diocese of St. David's, but Chichele seems to have been an absentee Bishop at this period of his life. To quote Professor Jacob: "No prelate of Chichele's training and orthodoxy would feel at home in a diocese where great numbers of the clergy were married, some openly immoral, or where the bishop would be called upon to deal with the problems of unfamiliar tenures upon the episcopal estates." No register of Bishop Chichele survives at St. David's, but there is a register of his vicar-general. Chichele himself was sent abroad soon after his promotion and was one of the principal English delegates at the Council of Pisa. For the next six years he ruled St. David's through his vicar-general, and gave all his time and energy to the King's service. His reward came in April 1414, when he was translated from St. David's to Canterbury. As Professor Jacob points out, there was by this time no other English bishop who had had such varied experience and qualifications as Chichele. His register bears witness to the conscientiousness with which he attended to the affairs of his great diocese and province during the next thirty years.

Swayne's opportunity came a few years later, but under very different circumstances. His register in the Armagh Library contains a group of documents which reveal his personal part in the struggle for power between England and France which was fought out at Constance in the twelve months which preceded the election of Martin V (November 11, 1417).[1] The English party were successful in excluding the chief French candidate, Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly, and there are reasons for thinking that John Swayne made himself useful at this time to the group of English prelates

[1] See my paper: "Ireland and the English Nation at the Council of Constance." (Proc. R.I.A., 1940).

whom Henry V had sent to Constance as his personal representatives. An unexpected opportunity had thus brought him before the notice of men who were in a position to advance his career. And the coincidence of a vacancy in the two Irish primatial sees of Armagh and Dublin gave him the chance for which he had been waiting for so many years. It was a chance that must have exceeded his most optimistic calculations.

It is characteristic of the situation here in Ireland that Armagh and Dublin were both held by English-born prelates at the opening of the fifteenth century. At the turn of the century John Colton was Archbishop of Armagh and Thomas Cranley was Archbishop of Dublin. Colton resigned in 1404 and was succeeded by Nicholas Fleming, who was a Dublin canon at the time of his provision. Fleming's register survives to this day and is evidence that he was an active and conscientious Primate, under the conditions that were inevitable by that time. He died in the summer of 1416, and Archbishop Cranley died just eleven months later. It was not easy, for technical reasons, to fill either metropolitan see at a time when the Holy See was itself the subject of international dispute. The dean and chapter of Armagh met in the summer of August 1416 and chose Richard Talbot, whose brother is remembered in Irish history as one of the most ruthless of English justiciars in this country. But the Pope's confirmation was necessary, and it had not yet been obtained in May 1417 when Archbishop Cranley died—not in Dublin, but at Faringdon in England. Talbot was promptly selected by the two Dublin chapters as their candidate for the vacant see; and he let it be known that he preferred Dublin to Armagh, as was but natural to a prelate who was the Justiciar's brother. A new election was thus necessary in Armagh. The chapter met again, twelve months after their first election, and chose an English clerk named Robert FitzHugh, who was chancellor of St. Patrick's, Dublin. News of this election was brought to Constance shortly before the election of Martin V. It was Swayne's opportunity. He or his English friends at Constance succeeded in persuading the new Pope, who owed much to English support at the Council, that John Swayne was a more suitable candidate than Robert FitzHugh for the vacant see of Armagh. Swayne's provision followed early in 1418. He lost no time in leaving Constance for his new diocese, and we find him at work on a visitation of Meath in January 1419.

What was the position of an Archbishop of Armagh under these strange circumstances? The diocese over which he was destined to rule for the next twenty years was divided into two sharply-contrasted territories: the English-settled country of Louth, where all or almost all of the benefices were held by the clergy *inter Anglos*, and the Irish-held territory of the present county of Armagh with much of Tyrone and a small portion of Derry, which is commonly described in the Primate's registers as *inter Hibernicos*. The dean and chapter who had elected Richard Talbot in

1416 and Robert FitzHugh in 1417 were native Irishmen. The dean, who had been Primate Fleming's commissary *inter Hibernicos*, was Master Thomas O Loughran. The chancellor of the diocese was Maurice O Fferchanan, and the prior of the Culdees of Armagh (who took the place of a precentor in a normal English diocese) was John O Cassily. The archdeacon was the only dignitary of the chapter who was chosen from among the clergy *inter Anglos*; but the Primate had also an English "official" (roughly corresponding to our modern Secretary) who transacted most of his routine business. John Prene, who was Swayne's official throughout his pontificate, became archdeacon in 1431; and he succeeded Swayne as Primate in 1439.

Swayne's attitude towards the Irish members of his chapter is well illustrated by a reply which he sent in March 1427 to a summons from Dublin for a forthcoming Great Council: "As to the dean and chapter of Armagh, they are mere Irishmen and dwell amongst the Irish: they are not accustomed to attend the royal council, nor is it fitting that the council's secrets should be revealed to them." He was content that an Irish official receiver of his dues should reside permanently in Armagh (on the site of the present palace), and collect the complicated revenues of the diocese in his name.

The Primate himself lived *inter Anglos*—either in the manor of Dromiskin near Dundalk or in the manor of Termonfeghin near Drogheda. Once or twice we can prove that he visited Meath, where he used the manor of Chauncelton near Athboy as his residence. But his letters are normally addressed from Termonfeghin, and there is little evidence that he used the manor of Dromiskin as a residence. Very probably the revival of Irish power in the north had made a residence so near the Gap of the North undesirable for an Archbishop who belonged to the English nation. In 1423, for example, we read in the Annals of Ulster that O Neill and O Donnell broke into Louth and Meath and defeated the English forces that had moved out to meet them. Peace was made between the English and the Irish after this short campaign, and there is an undated entry among Ware's notes from the lost leaves of Swayne's register which belongs most probably to these early years of his pontificate. The Primate writes to O Neill to congratulate him on his recovery from a serious illness. He had been troubled with two dangerous ulcers, but—"haply, as we presume, at the prayers of some holy man"—the ulcers had broken and O Neill had been "restored as it were from death to life." The Primate concludes his letter with an exhortation that the Irish chieftain should not fail in gratitude "to God, Blessed Mary, St. Patrick, our church in Armagh and ourselves." The exhortation was not lacking in point, for O Neill could do more than any one else in Ireland to make the Primate's position in Armagh untenable. Christian MacDewyn, who was the Primate's official receiver at Armagh in these years, would have little chance of collecting his rents and dues if O Neill were to oppose the collection.

Chichele's register is of interest to English students for the light it throws on the Archbishop's right of visitation in his suffragan dioceses and for his claim to rule the vacant suffragan sees as *custos spiritualitatis*. Swayne's register throws light on these same problems in Ireland. The Primate's right to visit his suffragans and collect procurations was unquestioned at this time; but a personal visitation must often have been a matter of great difficulty or real danger. Swayne does not seem to have made any serious effort to visit the dioceses of his province outside the English-held territories of Louth and Meath. Before he left Constance in 1418 he had taken the precaution of obtaining in advance a dispensation from the rule which forbade the visitation of suffragan dioceses when the Primate had failed to visit his own church and city of Armagh. There is, so far as I know, no evidence that Swayne ever visited Armagh in person—but the early portion of his register has been lost, and it is possible that he made a formal visitation of his cathedral church and city soon after his arrival in Ireland. His English predecessors had been more venturesome. The surviving fragments of Primate Sweteman's register make it plain that this energetic administrator visited Armagh frequently during his pontificate (1362-80); and one of Primate Fleming's first acts was to visit Armagh, inspect the ruinous condition of his cathedral and offer an indulgence of forty days to any of the faithful who might give alms for its reconstruction.[1] Many of Fleming's letters are dated from Armagh, and Swayne's inactivity at Termonfeghin must be set down as proof that he lacked the energy or the courage of his predecessors. But Swayne, as Primate of All Ireland, was not prepared to allow his rights of visitation to go entirely by default. A custom had grown up in the preceding century that the Primate nominated his suffragan, or some other commissary, to visit the suffragan dioceses in his name and with his metropolitan authority. That is the type of visitation which occurs normally in Swayne's register. The bishop of Raphoe or Derry or Kilmore or Ardagh is commissioned to visit his own diocese in the Primate's name. From the point of view of ecclesiastical discipline it is obvious that such a visitation must have easily become no more than an occasional formality. But the system made it possible to maintain the tradition of metropolitan visitation and to collect the procurations that were due to the Primate on these occasions.

One curious entry in Fleming's register, made by Swayne's notary on February 3, 1419, at a time when the new Primate does not seem to have yet begun his own register, records the fact that Cornelius, Bishop of Ardagh, took the customary oath of fealty to the Primate in his manor at Athboy in the presence of Richard Whyte, the Primate's seneschal, and some other English clerks. It is no more than a chance entry, but it throws light on the customs which governed the relations between

[1] The late Dean Lawlor printed excellent calendars of these two registers in *Proc. R.I.A.* (1911; 1912).

this English Primate and his Irish suffragans. Bishop Cornelius was known to his Irish fellow-countrymen as Conchobar O Fearghail. He was the grandson of Cuchonnacht O Fearghail, who died as lord of Maghtreagha in 1384. His uncle, Matthew O Fearghail, died as lord of Maghtreagha in 1417, when the future bishop was still dean of Ardagh; and there are entries in Fleming's register which prove that the dean of Ardagh was actively hostile to the English interests in that diocese, where English and Irish interests were unevenly matched. The diocese had been ruled by an English Dominican friar from 1400 to 1416; but Bishop Adam was burnt to death (under what circumstances we do not know) at Rath Easpuic in Westmeath in the summer of 1416. His successor was Dean Conchobar O Fearghail, and a change is now apparent in the balance of power between Anglo-Norman lords in their castles of Westmeath and native Irish chieftains. Yet Bishop Cornelius does fealty to Primate Swayne at Athboy in 1419 on his way home from Rome.

Another entry in Swayne's register throws further light on the situation in Ardagh at this time. Bishop Cornelius died in 1424, and the loss of the early section of Swayne's register deprives us of any means of testing the personal relations of these two prelates. But we find the Primate acting as *custos spiritualitatis* of the vacant diocese during the next two years and appointing four commissaries to act in his name. They are Abbot Richard of the Cistercian monastery at Granard; the official and the archdeacon of Ardagh; and an English clerk from the diocese of Armagh. These commissaries soon found that the O Farrell influence was still strong. It was the custom that the late Bishop's *insignia* or *principalia*—his ring, his palfrey and his chalice—should be handed over to the Primate's commissaries for safe-keeping until the election or provision of a new Bishop. But the Primate's commissaries reported to Swayne that "Katherine Offergayll, a woman, and her son Cornelius" had seized these *principalia* and refused to hand them over. The Primate issued a mandate to his commissaries, threatening excommunication and interdict if the culprits should prove obdurate. What followed is not clear; but Abbot Richard O Farrell, the first of the Primate's four commissaries, was provided to the see in 1425 and secured possession of its temporalities in 1426. As abbot of Granard he had been accused by his enemies of gross neglect and personal unworthiness. We have no means of testing the truth of these charges; but Swayne's register lets us see that the Primate found him a disobedient and recalcitrant suffragan.

That such a candidate should be successfully recommended to the Holy See for an Irish bishopric suggests one of the main causes for the frequency of those abuses which are revealed only too plainly in many of the papal grants and dispensations of this period. Swayne's register has preserved an entry which throws a different light on this appointment. If the O Farrell family had their candidate in Abbot Richard, the English

party, as represented by the Primate, had their candidate in a certain Master Henry Manning who is described as a bachelor in laws, a canon of Cork and rector of Disert in the diocese of Meath. The Primate recommended him to the dean, archdeacon and official of Ardagh in a letter of this time. Master Henry is here stated to be (in language that that has a familiar sound, even at the distance of five hundred years) " sufficiently expert in the English and Irish languages, and worthy by his manners, knowledge and the merits of his virtues." If the Primate was backing an English clerk for the see of Ardagh, we can understand the determination of the O Farrell interest to keep this English candidate out at all costs. Substitute other names elsewhere: Maguire and MacMahon in Clogher, O Reilly and MacBrady in Kilmore, O Gallagher in Raphoe, O Donnell in Derry, MacGuinness in Connor, O Neill, MacCathmhail and O Loughran in Tyrone: and you have a fair picture of the interests which were dominant in the province of Armagh throughout this century.

Chichele's register throws much light on the elaborate procedure and constitutions of the provincial assemblies or councils and the convocation of the clergy of Canterbury. Swayne's register, like the registers of his predecessors and successors, shows us that provincial assemblies were held from time to time by each successive Primate; that they met at St. Peter's, Drogheda; and that the Primate's suffragans were expected to attend in person or to send proctors. But there is no means of establishing the procedure customary at these assemblies in Swayne's lifetime; and the few entries concerning them suggest that no more than a handful of prelates and clerks were present. Attendance was not limited to the clergy *inter Anglos*. We are best informed (for this period) about the provincial assembly which met at Drogheda on October 13, 1427. Here the Bishops of Derry and Kilmore (both Irishmen) appeared in person as well as Edward Dauntsey, Bishop of Meath; and the Bishops of Down (an Englishman), Clogher, Raphoe and Ardagh were represented by proctors. The Bishop of Connor and the Bishop of Clonmacnois failed to appear, either in person or by proxy, and were duly pronounced contumacious by the assembly. The proceedings seem to have consisted largely in a recognition of the Primate's metropolitan rights and payment of the customary dues, and order was taken for a general visitation of the province.

The distinction between provincial council and convocation was not clear, even in Canterbury, at this time—though there was a tendency to limit the latter term to a meeting of the lesser clergy apart from the prelates who constituted the upper house. In the sixteenth century, under Primate Cromer, there is clear proof that the convocation of the Armagh clergy *inter Anglos* met regularly every year for the purpose of voting the subsidies on which the King's Council reckoned as part of the government's

annual revenue. Swayne's register shows us that occasional convocations of this kind were held in Armagh in the early fifteenth century. It is not possible to be certain how many provincial councils were held during his pontificate. His register contains the text of constitutions or decrees passed by some undated provincial council of Armagh. But a deliberate mutilation of the volume at this point has obscured the evidence of this important document. Two pages have been cut away, leaving no more than the beginning and end of each line on the recto or verso of the page. A later hand has added a heading which states that these constitutions were passed by a provincial council in the time of Archbishop John Colton (1383-1404); but internal evidence is against this identification. It is perhaps more probable that the original text contained the decrees of more than one provincial assembly, and we may guess that Swayne held an important council soon after his arrival in Ireland in 1419. The fragmentary constitutions which survive include quotations from earlier decrees of Primate David Mageraghty (1334-46), Richard FitzRalph (1348-60), Milo Sweteman (1362-80) and John Colton (1383-1404). Another shorter set of decrees from an assembly held by Primate Fleming (1404-16) occurs also in Swayne's register. These decrees throw light on the disorder that prevailed in the northern province during the fourteenth and early fifteenth century, and the prevalence of such abuses as concubinage and the alienation of church property by careless or unscrupulous administrators. One decree of a more general interest may perhaps be cited. Both Primate Mageraghty and Primate FitzRalph thought it necessary to make a statute prohibiting all mimes, jugglers, poets, drummers or harpers, and especially all marauders and importunate seekers, or rather extorters of gifts. Ireland's social life has not changed so very much since the middle of the fourteenth century!

I have omitted the Bishop of Dromore from the list of prelates who were present, either in person or by proxy, or were denounced as contumaciously absent from the provincial council of October 1427. The special case of Dromore at this time throws light on the desperate plight to which some of the poorer Irish dioceses had been reduced by absentee English prelates. As it happens, the facts concern also the administration of Archbishop Chichele, who enjoyed the services of a Bishop of Dromore as his "suffragan" or (as we should now say) auxiliary from 1420 to 1433. He himself had also been ordained subdeacon by an absentee Bishop of Derry (John Donkan) in 1392.

Bishop Stubbs called attention to these absentee Irish Bishops in an important list which he published almost fifty years ago.[1] John Donkan is typical of many others. Provided to the see of Derry by Boniface IX in the middle of the Great Schism, he found it impossible to establish himself in his diocese for any length of time, and was glad to earn a living

[1] Stubbs: *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*, (Oxford, 1897), pp. 204-9.

as auxiliary to the Bishop of London and the Archbishop of Canterbury for two or three years. Finally he resigned his see and applied for a translation from Derry to Down, where the English interest was stronger. The translation was granted in 1394, and John Donkan ruled Down for the next nineteen years, though there seems to be no way of finding out whether he was actually resident or not. He resigned this second see in 1413 and was succeeded by another Englishman—John Sely, who had been for some years prior of the Benedictine community at Downpatrick.

Dromore suffered nore severely than any other Irish diocese from this shameless traffic in Irish sees. Richard Payl was provided to this see in 1407, after a vacancy which had lasted for several years. He came to Ireland in 1408 and took the customary oath of fealty to Primate Fleming. That was the last Ireland saw of him. Two years later Fleming thought it necessary to grant special faculties to an otherwise unknown Bishop Marcus, who is described in his register as " a Bishop sojourning in the diocese of Dromore." Payl had appointed a vicar-general, but neither he nor his vicar-general had done what the Primate held to be their duty in the correction of certain abuses. Bishop Payl resigned his see in 1410, and his place was taken by another Englishman named John Chourles, a monk from the great Benedictine monastery of St. Edmundsbury. This is the Bishop of Dromore who acted for so many years as Archbishop Chichele's suffragan. He came to Ireland in January 1411 and took the oath of fealty to the Primate. Then he went abroad, and we hear nothing of him until he reappears in 1419 as auxiliary to the Archbishop of Canterbury in Calais and the neighbouring towns of France. He was appointed permanent suffragan to Chichele in 1420, and resided in London where his services were easily available for the Archbishop or the Bishops of London and Rochester.

What was happening in Dromore during his absence? Some entries in Fleming's register suggest that the dean and chapter were in fact exercising jurisdiction, though it is not clear that Bishop Chourles had appointed a canonical vicar-general. Adam Magynd was archdeacon of Dromore in 1414 and John Magynd in 1427. The family of Maginn seems to have been in effective control whenever we can trace the history of the diocese. But Englishmen seem to have thought of the see as *in partibus infidelium*, from the point of view of practical politics. In 1419, though John Chourles was then actively engaged as auxiliary to Chichele in France, an English Franciscan named Nicholas Wartre secured his promotion to the see on the false news of Bishop John's death. Meanwhile Swayne's register makes it plain that the Primate treated the see of Dromore as vacant from 1425 (when the extant leaves of the register begin) to 1429. In that year Martin V provided an English Austin friar named Thomas Radcliff to the see, which is stated to be vacant by the death of Bishop Marcus—presumably the Bishop Marcus who had worked in the diocese

in 1410. But John Chourles continued to style himself Bishop of Dromore until his death in 1433; and a third English claimant to this unfortunate see was added in June 1431, when the Pope provided a Carmelite named David Chirbury to the see of Dromore, now stated to be vacant by the death of a non-existent Bishop William!

The only conclusion that can be drawn from these extraordinary facts is that the papal registers were in such confusion after the long crisis of the Great Schism that almost any unscrupulous adventurer had a chance of promotion to a supposedly vacant see, if he was shrewd enough to choose a diocese for which the available records in Rome would be scanty or difficult to consult. That three Englishmen should be simultaneously styling themselves Bishops of Dromore from 1431 to 1433, and not one of them resident in the diocese, makes one regret that Dean Swift was not alive in the early fifteenth century. One of them, at least, seems to have taken his duties more seriously and appointed a vicar-general. Swayne's register shows that the diocese was no longer treated as vacant after the provision of Thomas Radcliff in 1429. Bishop Radcliff lived in Durham, where he acted as suffragan and thus earned his living. But we may conjecture that he had taken the necessary steps to provide Dromore with a vicar-general.

The freedom with which these papal provisions were obtained from Martin V throws light on an interesting problem which Professor Jacob discusses at some length in his Introduction. During the reign of Edward III the English parliament had passed the famous Statute of Provisors which made it treason to seek a provision outside the realm without license of the King. Successive Popes had protested against this interference with papal jurisdiction, and Archbishop Chichele was placed in a very serious dilemma when Martin V began to press vigorously for the repeal of the obnoxious statute. But England held firm, and no more could be obtained than a promise that the mitigations granted by Richard II and Henry IV should be maintained in practice. Chichele's position as papal legate made the question doubly embarrassing for him, and his personal career suffered from the conflict of two loyalties. But the scandalous abuses which I have outlined suggest that a practical working agreement between Pope and King was urgently needed. In English dioceses such cynical irresponsibility would have been impossible, but Ireland in the fifteenth century was far too loosely organised for any real check to be possible on the activities of "Rome-runners," whether of English or Irish birth. The published evidence of the papal annates for this period proves that benefices and expectancies were far more freely sought and obtained in the Irish than in the purely English dioceses.[1] Swayne's register contains one entry for 1435 which shows that the King's Council sought to enforce the Statute of Provisors in Ireland against a "traitor-

[1] Ambrose Coleman, O.P., *De Annatis Hiberniae*. Vol. I: Ulster (Dublin, 1912).

ous " English clerk who had obtained a provision abroad without licence from the King and had thus secured his own promotion to the abbacy of St. Mary's, Trim.

Strangely enough, this same question of papal provisions was closely connected with a problem which, to his great credit, was one of Archbishop Chichele's main preoccupations throughout the thirty years of his long pontificate. The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge had always been jealous of any right or privilege that might make it easier for their graduates to secure promotion without the obligation of residence, as a means of financing themselves through the long years of study which were required in the medieval system. Professor Jacob has here some very interesting comments on the efforts made, notably by the University of Oxford, to keep the door open for their graduates in this way. The Archbishop did his best to help, but failed. His foundation of All Souls College in 1438 was, in part at least, a recognition of the needs of deserving clerks who had to face the financial strain of long studies with little certainty of ecclesiastical promotion in the early stages. His generous endowment marks him out as one of the principal benefactors of Oxford graduates in the long history of the University. Catholic visitors to All Souls, who stand before the famous gateway and view the sculptured figures of souls rising on the last day, cannot forget the Archbishop's other purpose—to secure the maintenance of priests who should offer the sacrifice of Holy Mass for the souls of Henry V, of his Queen, and of all those Englishmen who gave their lives for their country in the long wars against France and on the field of Agincourt. But the College, though it has long since lost its priestly character, remains as a monument to Archbishop Chichele's concern for the needs of English education.

Had Primate Swayne, who had once been elected as Rector of the University of Siena, any similar concern for the needs of his clergy in Armagh? It would be pleasant to be able to quote from his register some provision for the maintenance of poor students, or some direction that the priests of his diocese should set funds apart for promising young clerks who would benefit from the opportunities that Swayne himself had enjoyed as a young man in the schools of Italy. One of his predecessors—Archbishop Richard FitzRalph, who had started life as a poor man's son in Dundalk and had risen to be Chancellor of the University of Oxford—urged this duty on his priests in a sermon which he preached before a provincial council of Armagh in 1355. Swayne's register—though it tells us that he had secured a house in Drogheda for his own sister—betrays no concern for the needs of young students from Drogheda or Dundalk. Yet it may well be that the Primate's register is an inadequate record of the work that he did for his diocese.

By a most curious coincidence, an effort was made to provide a school of higher studies for the clergy in Drogheda in the very year which the

Fellows of All Souls celebrate as the foundation-year of their College. Luke Wadding tells us in his *Annales Fratrum Minorum* that the friars of the Irish province opened two schools of theology at Galway and Drogheda in 1438.[1] Eugene IV, the Pope who had just convoked the General Council of Ferrara, ordered the Provincial and Fathers of the Irish province (so Wadding tells us) to found two *studia* for the study of theology as permanent foundations : one in Galway, the other in Drogheda. These schools, we are told, were distinct from the ordinary schools of the Irish friars, and were destined solely for those who had already completed their theological course *cum laude* and were preparing for the higher degrees of B.C.L., B.D., D.C.L. and D.D. Wadding adds that these schools are mentioned more than once in the Order's register ; and we may note that the Irish House of Commons petitioned in 1465 for the foundation of a recognised University at Drogheda. Whatever may have been the fortune of the school at Galway, the school at Drogheda seems to have succeeded.

All this took place in a town which was no more than five or six miles distant from the manor of Termonfeghin, where Primate Swayne seems to have spent almost all the twenty years of his episcopal rule. Are we to suspect his influence and encouragement behind this new development ? Wadding does not mention his name, and the Primate's own register is silent. We can only guess at probabilities ; but my own conjecture is that the initiative for this experiment was due largely, if not entirely, to the Irish Friars Minor whose work for learning and higher education in Ireland has been so fruitful for many centuries. This year we are celebrating the tercentenary of the Four Masters. It is well to remember that the Irish Franciscans had deserved well of this country as educators and scholars two hundred years and more before the generation which gave Ireland the greatest of her Annals. To them, rather than to men like John Swayne or Henry Chichele, Ireland owes a debt which is part of the nation's heritage.

AUBREY GWYNN

[1] Wadding, *Annales XI*, 50. The text is also printed by FitzMaurice-Little : *Materials for the History of the Franciscan Province of Ireland* (Manchester, 1920), p. 190.

THE WELSH YOUTH MOVEMENT
Urdd Gobaith Cymru*

BY DIARMUID Ó LAOGHAIRE, S.J.

"I AM a stranger in a strange land, and while I am in Wales I am not of it." So said an old Londoner evacuated to Wales, and so can every Englishman truly say who crosses the border into Welsh Wales. Even the very land, with its endless hills and mountains and remote glens, is strange to the eye accustomed to the level English countryside. But the Englishman soon realises that the difference of character and temperament between his countrymen and the Welsh is still more obvious. However, looking at the matter superficially, perhaps the most tangible point of difference—at least in those wide areas where Welsh is the vernacular—is the language, and the Welshman cherishes that point of difference. Most Welshmen are happy to be considered a unit in the British Empire, but not to be called English. They know they are a separate nation. Their language, which enshrines their best traditions, proves it. A number will want separation from England, some will want home rule, hardly anyone will be content with less than a Secretary of State for Wales (as witness the recent agitation about the matter), just as the Scots have now for a long time their Secretary of State.

These remarks are not superfluous in an article on Wales, for even good Irishmen tend to lump English and Welsh together and otherwise show a lamentable want of understanding of a people who have great claims on our sympathy and interest. As is well-known to students, Ireland and Wales are closely connected historically and linguistically. In early days there was a continual exchange of saints between the two countries, and I think we may admit that we were the debtors. In later days, alas! man-made religion in Wales, with its inevitable and ruinous results, and later still the increased anglicisation and loss of tradition in Ireland caused a great chasm between us. Nevertheless, I think it can be asserted that the Welsh and Irish are still kindred spirits and tend to attack their problems in a similar characteristic way; and therefore, when considering the advisability of a youth movement here, let us by all means learn from similar movements on the Continent, but let us at the same time study how our Welsh cousins tackled the problem.

*Literally: The League (or Guild) of the Hope of Wales, usually called in English "The Welsh League of Youth." *cf. Yr Urdd*, 1922–1943, *gan ei Sylfaenydd*, published, 1943, at Aberystwyth by Cwmni Urdd Gob. Cymru. This booklet on the Urdd by its founder forms the basis of this article and all quotations are from it.

We must glance for a moment, in order to get a right perspective, at the recent forbears of what the Welsh now regard as their National Youth Movement. In the year 1896 Owen Edwards, a strong and successful protagonist of Welsh education based on Wales herself and her traditions, founded through the medium of the Welsh children's monthly *Cymru'r Plant* (The Children's Wales) a movement called " Urdd y Delyn " (League of the Harp) or the Society of the Children of Wales. Edwards, however, although filled with great enthusiasm for Wales and an inspirer of others, was far too busy a man to give all his time to this foundation. Besides being at the time a fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, and lecturer in a number of other colleges, he was editor of several Welsh periodicals and a prolific writer of books—chiefly in Welsh and on things Welsh. Further, he lacked genius for organisation and did not know how to direct others in the practical realisation of his ideals. The movement, which never got effectively beyond the pages of *Cymru'r Plant*, collapsed in 1906. The wonder is that it lived so long.

In 1911 a new movement was started through the same magazine by a Pembroke woman, Mallt Williams. It was called " Byddin Cymru " (The Army or Host of Wales), and its chief aim was the conserving of the language. It lived for but seven years, and perhaps that very aim, it is suggested, " is one reason why the movement had not more success. It was not realised that it is by preserving the traditions and life that lie behind the language that the language itself is preserved, and that continued appeals to be faithful to the language—no matter how fervent—are of no use " (p. 8). " The Byddin did not appeal, any more than did Urdd y Delyn, to the heroic which is in boys and girls ; both the one and the other were movements for children " (p. 9).

The last war raised great hopes in the small nations, and in Wales at the end of the war there was a strong feeling of patriotism and posting of high ideals. In 1920 Owen Edwards died, and his death caused a great wave of sympathy with his work and ideals. " The time was ripe for beginning a new movement based on his ideals, and on New Year's Day 1922 Urdd Gobaith Cymru Fach (The League of the Hope of Little Wales) came into being.

" The Urdd was founded, not because conferences had decided that it should be founded nor yet because committees had carefully organised for its inception. It came into being because there was a need for it and because there was a work waiting for it to do " (p. 9). As the founder further tells us, there were two chief reasons compelling him to found the Urdd. One was that, on returning from the war, he had realised anew and with an especial emotion what " Wales " meant to him. The other, and perhaps the strongest reason of all at the time, was the simple fact that he, a young man of twenty-six, could not afford the heavy annual loss on *Cymru'r Plant ;* and so, through the magazine, he founded

the Urdd as a movement in order to increase the circulation, " for he knew that the first step in inspiring the youth of Wales with ' Wales ' was the preservation of *Cymru'r Plant.*" (p. 10).

The history of the new movement is divided into three periods: (1) from 1922 to 1930, when it was a children's movement run by private individuals; (2) from 1931 to 1936, when it was a youth movement under the government of an incorporated company; and (3) from 1937 on, during which time it received official recognition from the Board of Education as one of the thirteen national youth movements of Britain, and was given direct financial help by the Government. The official registration in 1942 of boys and girls between the ages of sixteen and eighteen proved that the Urdd had more members of that age in Wales than all the other voluntary youth movements put together.

1922—1930

It is interesting to note that the future National Youth Movement of Wales was not, in its beginning, the result of careful planning but rather of unreasoned enthusiasm. " How utterly Celtic," you will exclaim, " not to say Irish." Be it so. Organisation, based on experience, was gradually to evolve. In the beginning everybody knew everybody else. The problems facing the movement and the solution of them were not yet clearly seen. " Adrannau " (Sections) grew up in various parts of the country, and this they did naturally and without direction. The founder emphasises this fact, that the strength of the Urdd all through was in local activity. Later the movement at times tended to be over-centralised, but always this was soon realised and corrected. It is fanciful to see here a manifestation of the Celt's dislike of centralisation and his preference for local rule—under, if you will, a nominal central authority. Was Ireland ever happier or more Irish and stronger in resisting alien modes of thought and religion than in the time of the tuatha and cúigi and ard-rí? Was she ever more conscious of unity of tradition? And we may ask the same questions of Wales in the time of her provincial kingships—without of course ever denying the disadvantages of such a system, but merely expressing a wonder if such were not more native and better in the long run for the nation. Perhaps the Urdd, then, is not least native in its method of government, and that should promise well for future success.

Gradually in these early years, from being chiefly a Welsh language movement, it became a Welsh movement with more emphasis on Welsh history and tradition. By 1925 the membership was greater than that ever reached by the two earlier movements—2,895. The Urdd came into the open in that year in the national Eisteddfod at Pwllheli. In 1927 the membership had risen to well over 6,000, and the Urdd from now on was welcomed warmly by the people at the national Eisteddfodau. Organ-

isation was seen to be necessary. " Cylchoedd " or circles were formed to unite the Adrannau to one another. The movement was becoming one of youth, and therefore the word " fach " or little was omitted from the official title " Urdd Gobaith Cymru Fach." In 1928 the first handbook was published as well as the official song. In the same year the first camp for boys was held. Most significant of all, the leader-principle was introduced ; leaders of the Adrannau, both boys and girls, were selected. The Chronicle of the Urdd, up till 1929 published in *Cymru'r Plant*, was now so large that it was published separately. A national eisteddfod of youth was instituted and became a yearly event. Hiking, swimming and camping received their due, both for boys and girls, and a distinctive dress was chosen. The handbook was republished in 1930. Pamphlets in English explaining the movement were issued.

An important thing happened in 1929, important because it shows the spirit of the movement. A threefold promise was adopted—to be faithful to Wales, to one's fellow-man, and to Christ. In a Catholic youth movement (Non-Conformism is dominant in Wales) one would naturally reverse the order of the promises, placing " to Christ " first. Still perhaps we should consider the promises as intended to culminate and find full expression in the third.

Yet another important item is to be noted in the same year—the holding of a course for section leaders in Harlech College. The Welsh youth movement, like all others, realised the great importance of having trained leaders. We are not told, however, what kind the course was.

It was still more clearly realised that the traditions and life of Wales must always be stressed. This for us is interesting, because even today there are many traces of Catholicism, the " old religion," in Welsh tradition and the Catholic tradition was still strong in Wales a little over two centuries ago. So if the Welsh should become interested in their pre-Puritan history and tradition they might, with God's grace, realise what they have lost and, turning back on the past, revitalise their whole modern life and realise that strange " hiraeth " or longing so frequently expressed in their best poetry.

In 1930 the need was felt for providing higher sections for those over eighteen years. These higher sections were, so to speak, societies of past pupils who had finished with school ; they were called " Aelwydydd " (hearths). The second of these Aelwydydd was founded in Aberystwyth, where in 1931 the unofficial headquarters of the Urdd were set up. A further realisation at this period was to make provision for the non-Welsh speakers. In 1929 the membership was 13,308 with 10,000 other names waiting to be published, and in 1930 (we are told) the numbers had so increased that it was impossible to publish the names.

Finally, in 1930 the Urdd was joined officially with the educational authorities. In that year, too, the first pilgrimage—of boys—to Geneva

took place. The ideals of peace of the Urdd were always very strong and world fraternity was ever stressed. We may ask two further questions: Who composed the Urdd, and where did the money come from? Boys and girls from every kind of school and every kind of occupation composed the Urdd—that is from the period when it ceased to be a children's movement. School-masters and school-mistresses and professors, ministers and clergymen—all gave willing help. As for the money, benefactors were not wanting—in particular a Mr. J. M. Howell who became President of the Urdd in 1929.

1931—1936

In 1931 the Urdd was defined as "a popular, peaceful, Welsh movement to bring up youth to be worthy citizens, not merely of Wales but of the world fraternity also, by grounding their characters on Welsh traditions as these are revealed in their language, and that through living and playing together with youth in enjoyment of their life" (p. 64). The movement, then, had healthy national aims.

The event of 1931 was undoubtedly the decision to form the Urdd into an incorporated company, entrusting its government to the committee and council. The next development was the appointment of a paid organiser. A new monthly for youth, *Y Capten*, was started. Camps continued to increase; and the first "Urdd Sunday" was held in Swansea. "The Urdd believed, from the beginning, that the religious aspect was an essential part of its life—no Aelwyd was opened without a religious service of consecration." (p. 45). By 1934 "Urdd Sunday" had become a big annual Peace Service which was broadcast. The National Football Society of the Urdd was founded in 1931, and in 1936 it sent a team to the north of France to play a team of French boys.

In 1932 the handbook was once again published and the Urdd found regular columns for itself in several papers. In the same year the Urdd became a "legal entity" by being incorporated under the Companies Acts, bearing the title in English of "The Welsh League of Youth (Incorporated)." This incorporation entitled them to grants from the Government, which they later received; and but for this incorporation it is doubted if they would have received the grants, which they did for the first time in that year, from the National Council of Social Service and the Fitness Council and, later on, from various Trusts. In the girls' camp in 1932 the first foreign contingent took part—eighteen German girls; and in 1934 twelve Irish lads came for the boys' camp. In 1932 the first National Sports were held. In 1933 the importance of the Aelwydydd for those between eighteen and thirty was emphasised, and it was decided that they should have their own club-rooms. In 1932 the first of many sea-voyages took place—to Norway. Later the South of Europe was visited. In 1934 the first Welsh silent films were made for propaganda and cultural purposes. In 1935 the National Council of Social Service

gave grants for the support of the Urdd in the depressed areas of the south and for the bringing of children from these areas to camps.

The aim of the Urdd is put thus in 1936 : " Citizenship founded on service inspired by living tradition through the language, the members on their honour for Wales, and Wales dedicated to internationalism (cydwladwriaeth) " (p. 66). A new edition of the handbook appeared, the fourth—an undoubted sign of life. Camps were held for sixteen hundred at 7s. 6d. per week. A weekend school for leaders, of which we should like to have details, was held in Cardiff. Comunn na h-Oigridh was founded in Scotland on the model of the Urdd.

At the end of this second period the membership was over sixty thousand and always on the increase. The Urdd was throbbing with life—and that not merely physical but cultural too, as is clear from the list of enterprises given above.

1937—1943

At the beginning of this period the note is " A full spiritual, cultural and physical life." We can find nothing to cavil at in that order of merit. The first sound picture was made in 1939, " Y Chwarelwr " (The Quarryman), dealing with life in the slate quarries at Blaenau Ffestiniog. The filming was excellent, but the sound was poor. Still it was the first effort.

Grants were getting bigger. There was talk of having an Aelwydd in every village in Wales. In 1937 began the campaign of selling Welsh books. Fourteen Adrannau went round their localities and disposed of 1,025 books. In 1942 ninety-nine Aelwydydd and Adrannau sold 17,378 Welsh books—surely an idea for us ! Ireland and Wales, however, differ in this respect that Wales has a large Welsh-reading population, whereas Ireland has, alas ! a negligible number of Gaelic readers. Perhaps when we cut out the translation of English novels and concentrate on full-blooded Gaelic books and translations of the world's classics, we too might adopt the Welsh scheme.

In 1939, as the result of the realisation that the organisation of the Eisteddfod had been too centralised at headquarters, the preliminary competitions, etc., were got through locally and the final stages, only, figured in the national youth Eisteddfod. In the same year a permanent camp—with chapel, gymnasium, cinema, infirmary and room to hold three hundred at a time—was set up at Y Llangrannog Newydd. Cardiff dedicated the Welsh flag on the altar of Llandaf cathedral and it was later dedicated in the other cathedrals of Wales. In 1939, too, we are told that " Clann na hÉireann " was formed on the model of the Urdd.

With the beginning of the war, work was naturally curtailed. Local activity was now emphasised. The British Government changed its mind about checking activities and instead encouraged further enterprise. The new motto adopted was " Rhaid i Gymru Fyw " (" Wales must live "). An all-Welsh school, the first in modern Wales, was opened in Aberyst-

wyth and is a great success. The number of pupils has now trebled. Welsh is the sole language of class (save for English and English history, geography and literature) and of recreation—and this, no matter what the home language of the children. Their knowledge of English has not suffered, it is said, but is perhaps even better than that of children instructed solely in English. Once again it is insisted upon that Wales and her traditions are the inspiration of the school.

In the next year (1940) a school of drama was held in Bangor, and in the following year a new magazine was started for the Aelwydydd. Forty-two one-day training courses for leaders of Aelwydydd were held. In the same year the British Government issued a circular letter announcing the registration of boys from sixteen to eighteen years of age and urging boys from fourteen to eighteen to join one of the pre-military movements. The Urdd, which was recognised in the letter, issued a strong declaration, in view of this letter, stating that its distinctive note was Welsh christian citizenship and that all its efforts would continue to be centred on *civil* service. In 1942 the number of Aelwydydd had reached three hundred and sixty-two. " Young Wales " (English-speaking) and " Urdd Clubs " (bilingual) were founded and *Young Wales* was published.

An idea of the extent of the Urdd is afforded by the fact that in 1939 the property of the Urdd was valued at £25,000 and £3,000 were paid in salaries. The movement now has more than a hundred thousand members, a goodly number out of a population of two million odd. Many problems still confront the Urdd, notably its relations with the local educational authorities and how it will fit in with present and future educational systems; also its relations with pre-military movements for youth—the Welsh, in general, are inclined to be pacifists. However, no matter what happens, the Urdd intends to be faithful to its promises to Wales, to its fellowmen and to Christ.

We can surely learn much from the movement. Especially can we admire the insistence on the spirituality of the movement and the awareness of the danger of over-emphasis on the merely physical development of youth. As the founder himself says: " And yet, although the weakness of Wales in the past was, I should imagine, her neglect of the body, perhaps there is a danger that the pendulum may go too far in the other direction now, and that we should forget the spiritual and the cultural " (p. 35). With a Catholic youth movement, guided by thoroughly spiritual men, I do not think we should have to face that danger. The unfailing emphasis on Wales and her traditions, without any rantings against England and her traditions or lack of traditions, also deserve our notice. To conclude, we should know more about Wales, and Wales should know more about us. We can be mutually helpful.

DIARMUID Ó LAOGHAIRE

THE MAP OF INDIA: PAST AND FUTURE

BY FREDERICK C. KING
Late of the Indian Civil Service

MAPS figure largely in Professor Coupland's discussion of India's future in Part III of his Report on the Constitutional Problem in India.[1] This is sound practice and good constitutional craftmanship. The blue prints of the future must be sketched within the frame-work of the map. If I do not follow Professor Coupland's excellent method and illustrate my text by maps, it is purely through lack of facilities and not for lack of appreciation of the advantages of such a course. My readers can repair the omission by keeping before them a map of India or, failing that, a mental image of the map as they peruse this article.

A glance at the physical map shows us a country locked in by mountain and by sea. Cut off from the mass of the Asian continent by the Himalayan barrier and guarded on all other sides by the ocean, this land of India was surely designed by nature to be one piece. But history tells us that it has not been so. Only thrice in the long span of her history has all India been under one sway. Strange to say, each time that unity was attained it came in an Empire associated with a religion foreign to that of the majority of the people. The Buddhist Asoka, the Moslem Moguls and the Christian Britons; these are the rulers who, in their time, have unified India.

It was in the year 322 B.C. that the first Mauryan Emperor, Chandragupta, ascended the throne and founded the Empire which reached its culmination in the reign of his grandson, Asoka (273 B.C.-232 B.C.). Asoka's dominions included Afghanistan and all India except the extreme southern tip of the peninsula. To this date, twenty-three centuries later, his edicts graven on pillars of stone and still decipherable proclaim his message and his law. These pillars, which are scattered throughout the country, give testimony to Asoka's remarkable genius and to the peaceful but penetrating character of his rule. One other monument of his work remains. It was through his zeal in organizing missions of Buddhist monks for the conversion of the East that Buddhism, which he found a small local sect in Northern India, spread through China, Tibet, Japan and Burma and remains to this day the living religion of myriads in the Far East, though it has faded out in the land of its origin.

The Mauryan Empire fell apart rapidly after the death of Asoka. A bare ninety years of unity was followed by eighteen centuries of disruption. First, Parthians, Huns and Mongols swept in to loot and to slay. Then a new prophet arose in Arabia and the hordes of Mohammed, pledged to a holy war on the idolators, began to pour in through the passes, slaying and plundering and carving out kingdoms for themselves. They were resisted by the Hindu powers; but, though some strong rulers and dynasties arose to repel the invader, there was no cohesion amongst them and no central authority emerged to hold the frontiers and to guarantee

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[1] R. Coupland: *The Future of India. Report on the Constitutional Problem in India.* Part III. (Oxford University Press. 1943. 6/6).

peace and security. And so, filled with rapine and with murder, the weary, blood-stained centuries dragged on, till in the fullness of time they produced Akbar (1556-1605), the greatest of the Moguls. Once again we can look on the map of India and see a united land. The flag which now flies from the mountain fastnesses of Afghanistan is the same as that which floats over the ramparts of Bengal or waves above the strongholds of the Deccan. On that flag is emblazoned the crescent, the symbol of an alien conquering creed.

The dynasty of the Great Moguls, which commenced with Baber in 1526, lasted nominally till 1858; but disintegration set in very rapidly after the death of Aurangzeb in 1707. From then onwards, till the British established their supremacy, there was no central authority in India. Internal disorder and external aggression bled the country white. Marathas waded through blood and slaughter to thrones, which still endure as vassals of the British Crown. French, British and Dutch marched and countermarched against each other. Pindaris ravaged and looted. Foreign invaders took their toll in massacre and in plunder. Twice within twenty years—by Nadir Shah, the Persian, in 1739 and by Ahmad Shah Durani, the Afghan, in 1756—the imperial city of Delhi was sacked and the inhabitants, to the number of over 20,000, put to the sword. Misery and anarchy dragged on till 1858, when the Mutiny was quelled and the British Queen took over the suzerainty of India from the Moguls.

Thus has history belied geography's claim for a unified India. In twenty-three centuries she has known only 350 years of unity: 90 years of Mauryan Empire, 180 years of the great Moguls and, since 1858, 85 years of British sway. The British are now on the eve of handing over their power. To whom will the inheritance go? Very soon the destiny of India must be put to the test of winning or losing it all—of winning peace and progress through the common partnership of all the creeds and communities in shaping the fortunes of their country, or of losing unity and seeing their motherland sink down into turmoil and disaster which may last for centuries. These are the issues which are at stake. Moslems and Hindus, Brahmins and out-castes, politicians and peasants, principalities and provinces—the fate of all trembles in the balance. If, even at the eleventh hour, they can join together to shape the future of their country, the sad history of a dark past may find compensation in the magnificent contribution which a united India, linking the civilizations of Europe and Asia, can make to the welfare not only of her own people but of the world at large. It is with the chances of such an outcome that the third part of Professor Coupland's masterly exposition of the Indian problem deals.

The difficulties which lie in the way—the chief of which is the Hindu-Moslem conflict—are not minimised by Professor Coupland. The facts of this antagonism are widely known, and it is not necessary to recount

them here. Suffice it to say that the Moslems, who number less than one quarter of the entire population of India, claim to be not merely a separate religious sect but a separate nationality ; and, on this ground, they demand that the areas in which they constitute a majority should be partitioned from the rest of India and formed into an independent State. These areas are not concentrated in one part of India : one portion—the Punjab, the North-West Frontier province, and Sind—lies in the north-west ; the other block—Bengal and Assam—lies in the north-east. In between lies a vast and populous region, the very heart of Hindustan. Geography is certainly at variance with this solution.

Geography again constitutes a potent factor when the position of the Indian Princes is considered. Professor Coupland explains and it is easy to understand why these autocratic potentates might not find partnership with the democratic parties of British India an attractive solution to the Indian problem. But, look at the map. See how intricate is the pattern traced by the hand of history in these state frontiers, which run in and out through the territories of British India. See how they curve and twist and loop their maze of border lines. Well may we say with Blake :

> " What immortal hand or eye
> Dare frame thy fearful symmetry ? "

And yet, the separation of princely India—Indian India, as it is now the fashion to call it—from British India must be considered as a serious possibility. Those frontiers enclose no fewer than 562 distinct sovereign states, each with its own system of administration and law and some with autonomous fiscal powers and their own armed forces. The situation is rendered tolerable only by the over-lordship of the British crown, which co-ordinates the government of Indian India with British India. Is it likely that if that over-lordship were withdrawn, British India and Indian India could co-exist peacefully in unrelated independence ? The question is purely rhetorical and needs no answer.

Several solutions of the Indian problem have been put forward. The scheme of federation embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935 has not been accepted and is to all intents and purposes a dead letter. Sir Stafford Cripps' proposals for self-government with the right of secession were also rejected—the real reason being probably that the parties could not agree amongst themselves as to the nature of the government which was to come into existence on the British withdrawal. The Cripps proposals put on the Indians themselves the onus of devising an agreed scheme for their own government ; and this they were, apparently, unable to do. The offer is still open. The remedy proposed by the Moslem League was clean-cut partition. This involved the severance, from the rest of India, of the two widely separated Moslem blocks mentioned above. In these two blocks the Moslems represent 62% and 55% respectively, which is by no means an overwhelming majority.

Pakistan, as a Moslem state, would embrace very strong Hindu minorities ; and in the Punjab, a compact and militant minority of Sikhs—four million strong, who formerly ruled the country—would have to be reckoned with.

The Moslem leader, Mr. Jinnah, bases his claim to Pakistan on the assertion that the Moslems are a nation not a mere minority. This, which is perhaps the most crucial point in the whole discussion of India's future, is, rather surprisingly, admitted by Professor Coupland without that critical examination which he brings to bear on most other elements of the problem. He dismisses the subject with the cursory remark that, if a people feels itself to be a nation, it is one and that there is no doubt that most Indian Moslems, or, at any rate, their leaders, now feel that they are a nation. Personally, I think this is going a bit too fast. Ethnologically, most Indian Moslems belong to the same Indo-Aryan race as do the Hindus. Having travelled up and down through India for twenty-seven years up to 1939 and having heard Hindus and Moslems speaking the same language and seen them living side by side as good neighbours save for an occasional disturbance over some religious issue, I have never been able to regard them as separate nations, though I was conscious that the difference of religion had given rise to a great difference in their general culture and outlook. Futhermore, I was unaware that the Moslems themselves were ever conscious of any separate nationality or that they regarded themselves as citizens of a still unborn and undreamt of Pakistan. Conversely I never saw any trace of the Hindus regarding their Moslem brethren as foreigners.

However, politics organized on a communal basis may have worked wonders in the four years since I left India, and I can readily believe that not only the Moslems but also the Sikhs, the Christians and other religious sects are beginning to look on themselves as nations. There always was a tendency for the Punjabi to differentiate himself from the men down country or for the Bihari to fight shy of his neighbour the Bengali. Stronger still and more justified, though less vocal, was the feeling with which the aboriginal tribes regarded themselves as something apart from the Indo-Aryans, Moslem and Hindu, amongst whom they lived. They are different in race, language and religion, and are ordinarily concentrated in well defined areas. If such are the marks of nationhood, their title to separate nationality is clearly tenable. On the other hand, and in this opinion I think most Irishmen will agree, a claim to separate nationality and consequent partition, which is based on no stronger ground than religious differences, cannot be accepted in the cursory manner of Professor Coupland. There was no thought of separate nationality in the government of the great Akbar, who, though a Moslem conqueror, turned to his Hindu subjects to share the task of government with them, abolished the *jizya* or poll-tax on non-Moslems, and in every way treated Hindu and Moslem on a footing of perfect equality. Akbar's policy was reversed by his

bigoted great-grandson, Aurangzeb, who re-imposed the *jizya* tax, passed discriminating legislation against his Hindu subjects, and insulted and penalised their religion. The almost immediate result was the break-up of Indian unity and the dissolution of Akbar's Empire ; but no separate Moslem state emerged from this episode of bigotry. If Moslem nationality was a reality, that surely was the time for Pakistan to crystallise as a separate nation. The fact that nothing of the kind happened even after the Afghan, Ahmad Shah Durani broke the Marathas at Panipat in 1761, casts doubt on the Moslem's claim to a separate nationality.

Passing from the Pakistan solution, Professor Coupland proceeds to discuss another form of partition, the separation of Indian India from British India. There are formidable difficulties in the way of such a solution, some of which have already been touched on.

Finally, there are the solutions based on Regionalism. The most promising of these solutions is that propounded by Mr. M. W. Yeatts, Census Commissioner for India. This involves the assorting of provinces and states into large regional groups associated together for certain common purposes, such as irrigation, river control, hydro-electric schemes, afforestation, communications, &c., which can be better handled by co-operative methods than by the efforts of individual states or provinces. Recent experience suggests that food supplies and famine relief are also matters more suitable for regional control than for separate action. Mr. Yeatts proposes to divide India into four regions which he calls Indus, Ganges, Delta and Deccan. The first three correspond to river basins—the Indus, the Ganges, the delta of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra—while the last region, the Deccan, covers peninsular India. It is claimed, on behalf of this scheme, that the division corresponds to the economic facts of the situation and that the economic affinities of the provinces and states within each region would tend to draw them together in pursuance of their own interests. It is also put forward, as an advantage of the scheme, that two of the four regions are predominantly Hindu, while two have Moslem majorities. The latter correspond roughly to the two Pakistan blocks. In this way a communal balance would be established between the Hindus and Moslems. Each of the regions would be of equal status and would be equally represented in the Central Federal Government. There would be no direct representation of the provinces and states at the centre. They would be represented there only through the nominees of the region to which they belonged. The plan involves placing another step between the provinces and states and the centre. Its success would be conditional on a spirit of mutual confidence and co-operation between the constituent provinces and states and a willingness to compromise their individual interests, at times, for the good of the whole. Aggressive provincialism or isolationism would be fatal to the scheme. It may be noted that the spirit of inter-provincial co-operation has not made itself

conspicuous in the effort to deal with the present famine; but this is not to say that close association would not in time bring out such a spirit.

Now that the more important proposals for the solution of the Indian problem have been considered, it is well to hark back to the lesson of history: that the unity which geography has imposed on India can be broken only at the cost of misery and chaos. The long centuries of disunity and strife indicate that strong centrifugal tendencies are at work. If Regionalism or any internal re-arrangement of the frontiers can solve the riddle of Indian unity, let all good Indians bend to the task.

The vital frontiers, in which no change should be contemplated, are the great external bounds of India, the ever-lasting immovable mass of the Himalayas and the deep and mighty ocean. The comparison so often drawn between the internal frontiers of Europe and the internal frontiers of India is false. Barring the external frontiers, there are no frontiers in India which have lasted for two centuries. All have been drawn and re-drawn many times in the past century and a half. They are not hallowed by history, as are those of Europe. New provinces have sprung up and old ones have been broken up even during my own spell of Indian service. Inside India frontiers are mere lines drawn on the map, liable to change for as slight a reason as administrative convenience. In consequence, the ordinary Indian attaches comparatively little importance to territorial divisions. This applies with particular force to the provinces; but even the state frontiers have had little fixity over a century and a half. The latest instance is the absorption in this very year, under the authority of the Viceroy, of a large number of petty western states by Baroda. In truth, most of the internal frontiers of India are mere accidents of history—and not too ancient history at that. If, for instance, the British advance into India had been from Bombay on the west (as would have been most natural), instead of from Calcutta on the east, what a different map of India we might have had!

We have been peering into the future with our eyes on the map of India. All round the northerly stretches, the bold line of the Himalayas stands out cold and clear and, round the coast, deep blue, rolls the Indian Ocean. Within, the lines are shadowy and blurred. Hindu and Moslem, prince and democrat—how will they sort themselves out behind those lines? Will they fall into a federation of provinces and principalities or into a confederation of independent states, or will they join in regional blocks to win, in peaceful partnership, the wealth of Indus and Ganges and the Deccan and the Delta lands? Whatever the solution, we can welcome and acclaim it, provided it maintains the essential unity of India. But should Hindu and Moslem range themselves in hostile camps and refuse co-operation, then indeed may the friends of India weep. Centuries may roll by before peace and unity will come again.

F. C. King

BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF IRISHMEN IN FRANCE

BY DR. RICHARD HAYES

Part VIII

KANE (O'KANE), HENRY, priest and soldier. Born at Knockadine near Crossmolina, Co. Mayo. He was educated at the Irish College, Nantes, and soon after ordination as a priest was appointed curé of the parish of Saint-Hermand in the diocese of Nantes in 1788. After the beginning of the French Revolution, with whose principles he sympathised, he took the constitutional oath of the clergy in 1791. In 1793, on the outbreak of the war between France and England, he declared that he owed no allegiance to the country that held his native land in bondage and, having joined the French army in the 65th regiment of the line, he fought gallantly in the wars of the Revolution. In 1798 he accompanied General Humbert as a staff officer in the small expeditionary force which landed near Killala in August of that year. At Killala and Ballina he was welcomed by enthusiastic crowds, whom he addressed in the Irish language and urged to join the army of liberation. Later he specially distinguished himself at the brilliant victory at Castlebar. After the surrender of the French troops and the massacre of the insurgents at Ballinamuck, he was captured by the English authorities. The court-martial before which he was arraigned wavered between a sentence of death and one of perpetual banishment from Ireland. The plea that he was a French citizen and an officer of the French army, and especially the fear that his execution would be followed by reprisals in France, saved his life.

Returning to France, Kane went through the Napoleonic wars in the German and Peninsular campaigns, showing much valour particularly in the defence of Ratisbon in 1809, where his regiment defended that town against 30,000 Austrians. He rose to the rank of major, and his gallantry on the field brought him the Order of the Legion of Honour. In the campaign in Portugal in 1810 and 1811 his regiment fought side by side with the Irish Legion. Myles Byrne, an officer of the latter, has recorded that he was " goodhumoured and generous to a degree and never would let the Irish officers pass his quarters or bivouac without entertaining them to the best of his means." After the Bourbon restoration in 1815 he retired from active service on pension and died soon afterwards.

Kane was said to speak Irish and French excellently, but English badly. He wrote a detailed account of the Humbert expedition containing his impressions and experiences during the Rising. He gave the manuscript to Dr. MacNevin, the United Irish leader, on loan, but the interesting work was unfortunately lost.

Kavanagh, Joseph, revolutionary agent. A boot-maker, residing at Lille, he settled in Paris some years before the Revolution and is reputed to have initiated the attack on the Bastille on 14th July, 1789. A pamphlet, written at the time by Prudhomme the famous publisher and entitled "Exploits glorieux du célèbre Kavanagh, cause première de la Révolution Francaise," describes in detail the Irishman's activities in the turbulent scenes that ushered in the Revolution. On the morning of 14 July, having commandeered a horse and carriage, he selected two confederates, and all three drove wildly through the streets of Paris with shouts of "To the Bastille! Let us take the Bastille!" and spread as they went the rumour that the royal troops were advancing on the city. They halted at the Hotel de Ville where an immense throng, which had heard the rumour, were gathered. A clamour arose for arms and, led by Kavanagh, the crowd started off for the Hotel des Invalides where 30,000 muskets were stored. Having secured these, they hurried on to the Bastille which, after four hours of assault, was captured.

Towards the end of 1791 Kavanagh was appointed one of the twenty-four police inspectors of Paris, and a year later he appeared in a sinister light. He was then one of the band whom the Commune hired to carry out the massacres in the prisons in September 1792. The prison assigned to Kavanagh was that of La Force. During the Reign of Terror, too, he was engaged as police officer in raiding the houses of suspect royalists, and on 13 July 1793 he is officially reported as carrying out his duties in connection with the assassination of Marat. On the evening of that day Charlotte Corday left her room in the Hotel de Providence where she was lodging, and forcing her way into the residence of the Revolutionary leader stabbed him in his bath with a poniard. Towards midnight, after her arrest, Kavanagh and another police officer hurried to the hotel with the hope of finding accomplices or incriminating papers, but in her apartment they discovered nothing except her Bible opened at the story of Judith. A few months previous to this, Kavanagh had appeared at the Palais Royal and arrested Philippe Egalité, Duke of Orleans, who was guillotined soon afterwards. His activities again came into prominence in connection with the proscription of the twenty-two Girondist deputies in the summer of 1793, while the pursuit of suspect royalists still formed a large part of his duties up to Thermidor. When, after the fall of Robespierre, the terrorists and those engaged in the prison massacres were being arrested and punished, Kavanagh disappeared and seems to have lived in obscurity till his death.

Kavanagh, Nicholas, soldier. Son of Ignatius Kavanagh, captain in the Jacobite army in Ireland (who went to France in 1691 where he became an officer of the Irish Brigade), and Catherine Browne of Galway —the latter was of the same stock as the illustrious Marshal Browne

of Russia. The family of Ignatius Kavanagh, which resided at Garryhill (Co. Carlow) and were related to the Borris line, lost their estate in the Williamite confiscation. His son, Nicholas Kavanagh, who is recorded as living at Nantes in 1776, was regarded as the representative in France of the kingly line of his great house in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Despite attainders and many vicissitudes the family clung to and preserved the ancient gold crown of their ancestors, the kings of Leinster. The relic, which was in the possession of Nicholas Kavanagh in France, was last seen at an exhibition or museum in Toulouse shortly before the outbreak of the French Revolution. It disappeared with the troubles of that event, and all subsequent efforts to trace it failed.

The family was represented in various regiments of the Irish Brigade in France during the eighteenth century, and in the early nineteenth century one of its prominent members, Baron Louis Kavanagh, was chef de bataillon (1809-1819) in the 68th regiment of the line. The great Irish antiquary, John O'Donovan (who was a relative of the Kavanagh family), writing of his kinsman, Edmund O'Donovan of Gaulstown, Co. Kilkenny, who went into the French army, states : " The last account ever heard of him was his having been taken prisoner at Waterford in 1739, whither he had come to enlist men for the French service. He had gone into that service with several of his relatives, the Kavanaghs of the County Carlow, who were all killed in the wars except Morgan More Kavanagh, who was considered to be the largest man in Europe in his time and who returned to Ireland after various romantic adventures and died at an advanced age at Graiguenamanagh about the year 1780."

The Kavanagh family were more widely represented in Austria than in France, and attained to much higher distinction in the Imperial service of the former country.

Kearney, Charles, ecclesiastic. A native of Tipperary where, from pre-Norman days till the confiscations of the seventeenth century, the patrimony of his family lay around Cashel. Born *circa* 1745, he went for his education to France—some of his relatives, like the O'Shees of Kilkenny, were already settled in that country. He entered the Irish college in Paris in 1762 and, soon after ordination as a priest, was appointed vicar-general of the diocese of Tarbes. In 1780 he was selected to fill the post of superior of the Irish college at Paris. A few years after the outbreak of the Revolution the college became suspect as a royalist centre, and in May 1793 he and his colleague Dr. Walsh of the Collège des Lombards were summoned to appear before the local Revolutionary Tribunal. Both were, however, released after seals were put on their papers. Later a number of the former students of the college sent a signed statement to the Tribunal charging the superiors with being hostile to the Revolution. In October 1793, when all British subjects in France were placed under

arrest, the abbé Kearney fell under the ban and for three years underwent detention at intervals in his own house and in the Luxembourg prison. Various accusations were preferred against him—among them was one charging him with having joined with others in a plot to rescue Louis XVI from prison. The intervention of Camille Desmoulins prevented the abbé Kearney's arraignment before the Tribunal—the Revolutionary leader in his student days at the college of Louis le Grand in Paris had been often befriended by the Irish priest. Twenty years later his countryman, Lally Tollendal, gave details of the proposed plan. (Arch. Nat. H2. 2561). A vessel was purchased at Havre, and the boat which was to convey his majesty to the vessel remained waiting for a long time, till the king finally refused to co-operate.

In 1800, Kearney, with other royalists, was again arrested on the charge of being implicated in an attempt on the life of Napoleon, but he was found innocent and released. The Irish college, to which he had been attached, had ceased to function as an ecclesiastical establishment during the later years of the Revolution, but by the early years of the nineteenth century it was catering to the educational needs of both lay and clerical students. At this time Naploeon invited the old Irish families in France to send their children to occupy the vacant burses, while several of the old French noblesse sent their sons to the college. In 1807 a " Bureau de Surveillance," established to manage its affairs and composed of a number of Irishmen, found a deficit of 50,000 francs in its funds and refused to grant a pension to the abbé Kearney, its old superior. The institution subsequently went through many vicissitudes till the Bourbon restoration. In 1820 the abbé Kearney was restored to his old position as superior, and he functioned as such till his death in 1824, when he was buried in the vaults of the college. Various contemporaries, who were acquainted with him, have described him as a man of high character—modest, hospitable and disinterested—who was a friend to his poorer countrymen during his long life in the French capital.

Kearney (De Kearnie), James, " officer du roi " (James III) at Saint Germain-en-Laye. His father, John Kearney of Fethard, secretary to James the Second, accompanied that prince from Ireland to France and was a prominent figure at the Jacobite court of Saint Germain-en-Laye. His mother was Anne Blake of Galway, where he was born on 7 May 1688. In his twentieth year he followed his father to France and was appointed gentleman-in-waiting to James III at the Jacobite court. His three sisters became nuns in France—the eldest, Louise, was entrusted with the education of one of the daughters of Louis XIV. His three sons served as officers of the Irish Brigade in the French army. Ambrose, the eldest, a captain in Dillon's regiment, was killed at Fontenoy, while Richard, a captain in Lally's and a knight of Saint Louis, was wounded

at the same battle. Martin, the third son, was created Count de Kearnie by Louis XV and in 1741 married Lady Elizabeth Hamilton, daughter of the sixth Earl of Abercorn. His death in 1780 at Versailles raised the question of the legal status of Irishmen in France. The Parliament of Paris decreed in 1784 that the Count's heir-in-law was M. Jacques Nagle, a major of Dillon's corps, who was a cousin of the deceased. Count Kearney's sister, who lived in Cork, appealed against this decision, but it was confirmed by a higher court. This court declared that Louis XIV had decreed that Irish Catholics who came to France should be treated as French subjects and should not be obliged to take out letters of naturalisation ; and the court further declared that the Irish in the French service were never regarded as foreigners and had no " patria " but France.

Another branch of the Kearney family was established at Bordeaux in the middle of the eighteenth century. James Kearney, a native of Fethard, was naturalised a French citizen there in February 1756 ; and in January 1790 the manuscripts of the Chevalier O'Gorman show the preparation of the family tree of Madame Kearney of Rochefort by that genealogist.

KEATING, CHEVALIER, soldier. He is listed in the De La Ponce MSS. as " Sous-lieutenant in Walsh's regiment 1777, Lieutenant 1781-1785." An Irish nobleman of the Retz country in Brittany, he became an officer of the Catholic-Royalist army in the Loire-Inferieure during the war in La Vendée and was one of the first of his class to join Charette, the Commander-in-Chief of the Vendean forces, in 1793. He was a member of the local committee established in the town of Machecoul, where the noted royalist leader Souchu carried out a dreadful massacre of republican prisoners in April 1793. The chief function of the committee was to select prisoners for execution from the crowded jails.

KEATING . . . . N, avocat and writer. Born at Brest at the end of the seventeenth century, he was the son of an Irish Jacobite gentleman who was an infantry captain in the War of the Revolution in Ireland and who followed James II to France. On retiring from active military service this officer was appointed commandant of the Rade at Brest. His son was educated at the college of Quimper, where he had a distinguished academic course. He devoted himself at first to belles-lettres, but later followed the profession of avocat. He began his legal career at Tours and, after his marriage to a Breton lady, moved to Rennes, where his striking talents raised up against him a host of enemies. He was obliged to retire to Paris and there was preoccupied entirely with literary work. He composed " Mémoires " on the expedition of Prince Charles Edward to Scotland in 1745, and worked for some time on the " Dictionnaire Encyclopédique." He translated Pope's " Homer " into French—his

" Eloge historique et critique d'Homère " was published at Paris in 1749. It was re-published in Tome V of the collected works of the English poet in 1796. Keating died on 4 November 1748 at the Château de Chaumont-sur-Loire, the residence of M. Bertin de Vosgien, Councillor of the Parliament of Paris.

Keating, Thomas, soldier. Son of Valentine Keating and Sarah Creagh, he was born at Limerick in January 1748. In his sixteenth year he entered Berwick's regiment of the Irish Brigade as a cadet. Within a short period he was appointed lieutenant in Walsh's corps and went through the Corsican and five other campaigns with the rank of captain. (His three brothers, John, Edward and William also became officers in the French army). In June 1788 he was promoted to the rank of major, his brevet being signed by the archbishop of Sens. The colonel-proprietor of Walsh's regiment, Count Walsh de Serrant, who had his own favourite for the appointment, showed much hostility towards Keating, and the latter was temporarily dismissed. This led to a warm discussion in the National Assembly in November 1790, and that body requested the king to have justice done to the Irish officer. The royal interference resulted in his being restored soon afterwards to his regiment.

Keating was a supporter of the Revolution, and in June 1791 was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. As such he accompanied the army in the following year in the invasion of Belgium. Here he particularly distinguished himself at the battle of Neerwinden in March 1793 at the head of a cavalry corps, and a few weeks later was promoted to the rank of general of brigade. Almost immediately afterwards, like his compatriots General O'Moran, Colonel Dillon and others, he fell under the ban of the extreme Jacobin party. As a foreigner and an officer under the monarchy he was unjustly suspected of disloyalty to the Republic and was suspended from the army in July 1793. In a letter of protest against this treatment he pleaded that, in view of the fact that he was an Irishmen who served in an Irish regiment in the French army for more than thirty years during which he fought in a dozen campaigns, he should not be regarded as a foreigner. He also produced a certificate from the Society of Liberty and Equality at Arras (where he had acted as commandant) which guaranteed his patriotism and zeal for the Republic. From other towns, too, where his regiment had been quartered, came tributes to his services and loyalty. His appeals, however, were in vain, and on 18 August 1793 he was arrested and imprisoned.

This injustice drew from Keating another letter of protest, in which he wrote to the Minister of War as follows: " My whole family has resided in France for many years. One of my brothers is fighting in the National Guard in La Vendée. Another is captain in the 92nd regiment (formerly Dillon's) in Saint Domingo. A third has been killed fighting.

If I am no longer a French citizen, I shall be proscribed by English law; I shall not belong to any nation and, by reason of this hateful order, I would resemble that ill-fated sect which France has lately placed under the protection of the Rights of Man. If I have had the misfortune, Citizen Minister, to serve under infidel chiefs, I have had that fate in common with all my brave brothers-in-arms. I have no knowledge of any plots or intrigues, and my religion is to me such a real thing that I dare to say I would be one of the very last to whom traitors would confide any information regarding such. I ask for your justice and request to be sent back to my post at Arras. Thereby you will distinguish crime from virtue and you will return to the Republic one of its most zealous defenders." Despite his appeal he was, however, detained in prison for fifteen months, at the end of which he was released on 10 December 1794 on a medical report which certified that he was suffering from severe rheumatism. After release he was restored to the army with his old rank of general of brigade. Ill-health, however, had so weakened his constitution that he was compelled to retire from active service on 10 December 1795, and he died soon afterwards at Poitiers.

KELLY, GEORGE, Jacobite agent. Born at St. John's, Co. Roscommon, in 1688, he entered Trinity College, Dublin, where he took deacon's orders. In 1718, after preaching a sermon in favour of the Stuarts, he was threatened with prosecution and emigrated to Paris. There he became a zealous Jacobite agent and for his activities was arrested at London, where he was committed to the Tower. After fourteen years detention he escaped from detention in 1736 through the aid of his relative, Myles MacDonnell, a Catholic priest. He again settled in Paris, where he joined the expatriated Jacobites who were planning the Forty-Five. Later he became secretary to the Duke of Ormond at Avignon, and in 1744 left that city to join Prince Charles Edward at Paris. He was one of the Seven Men of Moidart (four of whom were Irish) who left Nantes in July 1745 with the Prince to raise the Stuart banner in Scotland.

During the Rising Kelly came and went between Scotland and the French court. When the Prince settled in Paris after the defeat at Culloden, Kelly became his secretary there—and, according to some, his evil genius as well. After some time many of the Jacobites, deeming Kelly's influence over the Prince as pernicious, intrigued to get rid of him as secretary. Writing to James III from Saint Germain-en-Laye in May 1747, Father Myles MacDonnell referred to Kelly " as my very near kinsman for whom I exposed my life to release " and described him as indolent and careless. Eventually he was dismissed from the Prince's service and, having left France, died at Rome in 1762. He translated several French works into English.

Kelly, Malachy, ecclesiastic. One of the most notable Irish priests of the seventeenth century in France, he was a founder of the Irish College (Collège des Lombards) at Paris in 1677. He had been confessor to Mary Gonzaga, Queen of Poland, and in Paris was almoner at the court of Louis XIV. Through his efforts letters-patent were obtained to re-build the Collège d'Italie, which was in a ruinous condition, and transform it into the Collège des Lombards for the use of students from Ireland. He was superior of the institution from 1681 to 1684.

Previous to this Dr. Kelly had been prominent in the controversies that raged round the subject of Jansenism at Paris. In 1651 twenty Irish ecclesiastical students of the university of Paris drew up and signed a declaration against the new doctrine. Upwards of sixty other Irish ecclesiastics, according to Jansenist authorities, took counsel with some of their compatriots (Dr. Edward Tyrell, Dr. O'Molloy, professor of theology in the college of Beauvais, and others) and, in order " to save the honour of their nation," presented a petition to the university begging " that the declaration might not be imputed to the whole nation." The rector of the university decided that the declaration was an act of insolence, but soon afterwards the faculty of theology, after stormy scenes with the other faculties, supported the cause of the twenty students, as did Vincent de Paul who was then living in Paris. Dr. Kelly was, with a certain number of other prominent Irish priests and laymen in Paris, like Dr. John Callaghan (*see* Callaghan, John), Dr. Philip Lonergan and Count Edward Rothe, an upholder of the new heresy. In 1669 the Jansenists in Paris tried to get him appointed to a vacant bishopric in Ireland, but the report of the Nuncio in the French capital foiled their efforts. Dr. Kelly died in 1684 and was buried in the crypt of the Irish College at Paris.

Kilmaine. *See* Jennings.

Kennedy, Matthew, judge and author. Born in County Limerick in 1652, he was the son of Denis Kennedy and Catherine Herbert. He was appointed a judge of the Admiralty under James II—the Stuart MSS. (Vol. 1) gives the warrant (25 April 1689) from his majesty for " a grant to Matthew Kennedy LL.D. of the office of Master in Chancery in Ireland." After the capitulation of Limerick he went to France, where he was a notable figure at the court in Saint Germain-en-Laye. Devoting much of his time there to literary work, he wrote " A Chronological, Genealogical and Historical Dissertation of the Royal Family of the Stuarts," which was published at Paris in 1705. In this treatise he tries to prove that the Stuarts were of Irish descent. The work was strongly criticised by Father De La Haye, an Anglo-Scotchman, in a letter to the Duke of Perth. The author replied to De La Haye in the form of a letter,

which was printed in French at Paris in 1715. Kennedy was proficient in the Irish language and used to have competitions in Irish verse with the abbé Manus O'Rourke of Breffni, who resided permanently at Paris. The latter wrote : " Dr. Kennedy was my great friend and was surprised how I kept my Irish, being so long a time out of Ireland . . . . he was jealous with me, for he thought no man a greater master of Irish than himself and published in all the courts of Saint Germain that he knew but me alone who could compare with him." In 1710 Kennedy married Elizabeth Birmingham at Saint Germain-en-Laye, where he died on 22 May 1735 in his eighty-third year.

KINDELAN, JOHN AMBROSE, soldier. Born on 7 December 1750 at Pontevadra in Spain, he was son of Vincent Kindelan, brigadier-general in the regiment de Irlanda in the Spanish army, by Mary O'Regan, daughter of Maurice O'Regan of Limerick. The Kindelan family, whose ancient patrimony lay round Ballynakill, Co. Meath, has had a distinguished history in the Spanish military service from their exile in 1691 to the present day. (The chief living representative of the name, General Alfredo Kindelan, was Minister for Air in General Franco's cabinet in 1938 and is at present Captain-General of Catalonia and Barcelona). Though, after being dispossessed of their estates in Ireland in 1691, their associations were mainly with Spain, a few entered the French service—the De La Ponce MSS., for example, mention Patrice O'Kindelan as surgeon-major in Bulkeley's Irish regiment in 1765.

John Ambrose Kindelan, the subject of this notice, who was colonel of the regiment of Ultonia in the army of Spain in 1794 and was later inspector-general of Infantry, became in 1807 commander of several regiments of a Spanish auxiliary force which Napoleon had obtained from the king of Spain and which was incorporated in the army of France. A mutiny occurred soon afterwards in these regiments, but the mutineers were disarmed and imprisoned at Avignon by General Kindelan, to whom was assigned by Napoleon the duty of organising a new corps. He became a general of division in the French army in 1812, was naturalised a French citizen in 1816 and retired from active service in the latter year. With General Count Daniel O'Connell and a large number of Irish officers in France he was a signatory (" Le Comte Kindelan ") to the Memorial addressed to the Minister of the Interior in December 1814 protesting against the proposal to transfer the endowments of the Irish College at Paris to the College of Maynooth. The memorialists contended that the burses in the Irish College were founded for the education of the sons and nephews of Franco-Irish officers destined for the religious, medical, surgical and military professions. A Chevalier of the Legion of Honour and of the Order of Saint Louis, General Kindelan died at Paris on 13 November 1822. RICHARD HAYES

BIRDS OF THE COUNTRYSIDE

BY PATRICK G. KENNEDY, S.J.

PART III.—THE OWL FAMILY

Owls resemble diurnal birds-of-prey in many respects, and yet they have no close relationship with them. Like the falcons, they have powerful feet and claws, a curved sharp bill and the cere in which the nostrils are situated. It might here be mentioned that the cere (from *cera*, wax) is the soft, generally somewhat swollen skin which covers the base of the bill and is especially well defined in parrots and diurnal birds-of-prey. Owls, unlike hawks, have soft and long plumage, with no underdown, and a flight that is slow and noiseless. It is an eerie experience to have an owl rise at our feet or pass over us without the slightest sound. We are so accustomed to the swish or whirr of wings in all biggish birds that noiseless flight always takes us by surprise. In owls the feathers of the face form a large disk round the eye, a feature which gives these birds a cat-like expression and, it may be added, enhances their uncanny appearance. Owing to the looseness of the plumage, the head generally appears to merge with the body without a perceptible neck. But the neck is really rather long and very mobile, so that the bird without shifting its position can follow the movements of an observer, even to the extent of turning its head completely back to front. This mobility of the head compensates for the restricted field of vision due to the position of the eyes, which are directed forward and have no great movement. The prey is generally swallowed whole by owls, instead of being picked, as is usual with the true diurnal birds-of-prey, the indigestible portions being afterwards disgorged in the form of pellets.

THE LONG-EARED OWL.—The Long-eared Owl is resident in Ireland, but probably our native birds are to some extent reinforced in autumn by migrants from overseas. Though common enough in our woods, it is not often seen, as it is nocturnal in habits and, unlike the Barn Owl, is not generally associated with human habitations. It is a biggish bird, of buff and brown colours, of short body and long wings. Its most remarkable feature is the long ears, which are really not ears at all but tufts of feathers, like horns, on the top of the head. Sometimes, when passing through a wood, we disturb a Long-eared Owl from its roost on a tree, when, during its silent, wavering flight, it is mobbed without mercy by all the small birds. In Co. Dublin, at the boundary of a fir-plantation, I have frequently found one of these owls roosting on the ground at the bottom of a dry ditch. In the ditch it had several stances, moss-covered

boulders or projecting tree roots, round which were strewn pellets. In this roost, though I have often come on it unawares and watched it with glasses from a distance, I have never seen the ear-tufts laid back, as they are sometimes said to be when the bird is roosting on a tree.

The principal and most characteristic note of the Long-eared Owl is a long-drawn, low " ōō, ōō, ōō, . ." which carries far and is said to be audible for as much as half a mile. It is a cooing moan rather than a hoot, and is uttered from January to April, especially in February. When the nesting-place is invaded the birds call " ōō-ack, ōō-ack," prefaced sometimes by a barking " woof-woof ". But outside of the nesting-season, the Long-eared Owl is generally a silent bird. It nests on trees, usually appropriating the old nest of some other bird or even a squirrel's drey, in which it lays from three to five white eggs. Sometimes, however, like the Short-eared Owl, it nests on the ground.

The food consists of rats, mice, some birds and insects. Dr. Walter Collinge, who made a study in economic ornithology, writes of the Long-eared Owl : " Numerous complaints have been levied against this species, but so far as my experience goes there is very little reliable evidence to support them. Occasionally it, no doubt, takes young game-birds, but the percentage of this kind of food is only small. Thus of the total food consumed 90 per cent. is beneficial, 2.5 per cent. neutral, and 7.5 per cent. injurious. It is impossible to come to any other conclusion than this, and the following species (the Short-eared Owl) are most valuable birds and of the greatest value to agriculturists."

THE SHORT-EARED OWL.—The Short-eared Owl is a winter visitor to this country, arriving in the autumn at about the time of the wood-cock immigration, and hence it is sometimes called the Wood-Cock Owl. It comes in varying numbers, chiefly from October to February, and is somewhat irregular in its distribution. As it has been recorded as having nested in Co. Kilkenny in 1927, observers would be advised to keep a sharp look-out for further nesting. What happened once might easily happen again. At the same time care should be taken not to conclude at once that an owl's nest on the ground is a Short-eared Owl's ; for, as we have seen, the Long-eared Owl does sometimes nest on the ground. In England the Short-eared Owl appears, somewhat mysteriously, and nests in new localities where there happens to be a plague of mice and voles. We have no voles in this country, but it might well occur that an increase of rats and mice in some district would attract this most useful and accommodating bird and induce it to stay and rear a family. I might here mention as a further proof of its adaptability that, though normally the Short-eared Owl is single-brooded, laying from 4 to 7 or 8 eggs, in plague years it rears two broods with clutches of from 9 to 13 or 14.

The Short-eared Owl, unlike its long-eared relative, is diurnal in

habits, frequenting the open country, bogs, marshes and sand dunes. In bogs and marshes I have never put up more than two birds together, but on the North Bull Bird Sanctuary I have often seen five or six at the same time.

A big bird, the Short-eared Owl looks huge in flight at close range, because its wings are conspicuously long for the size of its body. The ear-tufts are so short that they are hardly discernible even at close quarters. The upper-parts are richly marbled with buff and dark brown, and the under-parts buff broadly streaked with dark brown.

The Short-eared Owl is generally a silent bird, but I recall one occasion when I heard its voice. I had put up a bird on the sand dunes of the North Bull and was watching its flight, when suddenly a Merlin, our smallest falcon, swooped down on it and, circling round, made several attacks on it. The Owl, though never actually touched, screamed loudly in terror at each " stoop ". It was a strange and thrilling sight, such as occasionally comes the way of every bird watcher. The disparity of size was more than counterbalanced by the extreme mobility and lightning speed of the Merlin. But my sympathies were all with the lumbering Owl, though it put up such a poor show of self-defence. The incident was probably due to mere exuberance of spirits on the part of the little falcon ; it never pressed home its attacks ; and having sufficiently amused itself, it glided off over the salt marsh to the apparent relief of the Owl.

THE BARN OWL.—The Barn Owl is resident in every county and, though perhaps better known, is not so common as the Long-eared Owl. It haunts the vicinity of farms, ruins and old buildings, sometimes even in towns, and is generally near human habitations.

It is seen chiefly at dusk as a ghostly, white form, winging its silent way in buoyant, wavering flight. More rarely is it seen during the day, when its pale appearance, with orange buff upper-parts and pure white face and under-parts, attracts the eye. When perched, its attitude is bolt upright, its long, distinctly knock-kneed legs being rather noticeable. In the dark its ghostly appearance is at times enhanced by a certain luminosity of the feathers—due, it is thought, to phosphorescent bacteria got from decaying wood in hollow trees where it roosts.

Our Barn-Owl is known as the White-breasted Barn-Owl to distinguish it from the Dark-breasted variety of the continent. The continental bird has very rarely found its way to this country. In March 1932 the late Mr. W. Williams, Taxidermist of Dame Street, Dublin, showed me three specimens of the Dark-breasted Barn-Owl which he had received for preservation, two being from Co. Kerry and one from Co. Tipperary. It is interesting that the continental range of the two varieties overlaps in Eastern France, Belgium and Western Germany.

There seems to be a difference of opinion as to whether the Barn-

Owl, in all parts of its range, really deserves its second name of " Screech Owl ". Some careful observers found the bird rather silent on the whole ; and while they had heard various sounds, they could not describe any of them as deserving the name of a " screech ". But Mr. C. B. Moffat (*Irish Naturalists' Journal*, Vol. 7, No. 10) has proved beyond question that, at least in Co. Wexford, the Barn-Owl is quite a noisy bird at all stages of its life, and that the screech or scream, which is uttered by both sexes, is at no time of the year altogether disused. He found that, during a spell of four months before nesting, male and female indulged in screaming duets every night. On one occasion he counted no fewer than 83 comparatively hoarse screams of the hen in answer to a shrill screech of the cock. Even during the nesting period he heard the screech delivered not only by the flying bird but also when an owl had taken post on a tree or chimney, " where for an hour or more screams will be repeated with unfailing regularity at every fourth second, to the great concern (perhaps excusable) of some human seekers after sleep ".

The young Barn-Owls are particularly vociferous. Both before and after leaving the nest they indulge in a weird sound which is usually called a " snore " ; it is really a cry for food to the parents. From August to November it is the practice for the family " to keep up the chorus in violent competition ". Of one of these occasions, when he listened to the owls from 8 to 9 on an October evening, Mr. Moffat reports : " During most of the time one or two were hissing, while another kept screeching, with a voice something between a pig and a cat ; one had a shrill ' Kew,' sometimes single, sometimes double ; once there was a laughing, at another time a purring noise."

I am sure it must be abundantly clear, from the evidence of such a reliable authority as Mr. Moffat, that the Wexford Barn-Owls are neither silent birds nor undeserving of the title of " Screech-Owls ". For myself, I have heard the Barn-Owls screech in the counties of Dublin, Limerick, Leix and Offaly. But, during three years residence in Leix, I was less accustomed to hear the screech than the bubbling, whistling note which always reminded me of a referee's whistle on the football field. The farm-yard, where the owls roosted and nested, though not far from the house, was out of hearing owing to intervening trees. Sometimes in the evening twilight an owl would pass silently by the house, but more often, especially after dark, it would herald its approach by the " football whistle " which it continued to blow every few hundred yards until it was out of hearing range. This nightly flight was always in the same direction and seemed to be in a wide circle of which I could witness only the first segment. I never once heard the screech from the house, but I did hear it on a few occasions when I happened to be round the trees near the farm-yard. Hence I think that observers who meet with it only at one part of its nightly range might well believe the Barn-Owl to be either altogether silent or addicted to noises other than the screech.

THE SNOWY-OWL.—The Snowy Owl is an occasional winter visitor to this country—mainly from November to March. Mayo is the county most frequently favoured. It is a very large white owl with plumage more or less barred with brown. Like the Short-eared Owl, it is largely diurnal and frequents the open country. It nests in the tundra of the arctic regions of Europe and America and, in lemming years, in Scandinavia. Lemmings, I might mention, are small rodents like the field mouse, which in certain years in northern Europe appear in countless numbers and in vast hordes migrate to the west, crossing rivers over the dead bodies of the front line members of the march and finally, on reaching the sea, plunge in to inevitable destruction.

In May 1928, Mr. Williams showed me a lovely specimen which he had received for preservation from Belmullet, Co. Mayo. It is sad that rare and beautiful birds so often fall victims to the gun of the " sportsman ".

THE SCOPS-OWL.—So rare is the Scops-Owl in this country that it has been recorded only nine times—usually in spring and summer. It is a very small owl, being only about $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, of slender build and upright attitude. It has long ear-tufts and much vermiculated greyish-brown plumage. As this owl nests in the Mediterranean region and southern Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland and from southern Russia to western Siberia, and as it winters in tropical Africa, it is strange that it should ever reach this country. But probably due to abnormal weather conditions, birds occasionally miss their way on migration and find themselves far from their usual destination.

THE LITTLE OWL.—A Little Owl, which may have been an escape from captivity or a genuine migrant, was killed in Co. Kildare in 1903. There is no other Irish record of this owl. Its slightly larger size, more compact and plump form and absence of ear-tufts distinguish it from the Scops-Owl. It is a native of Holland, Belgium, France and the Iberian peninsula. Towards the end of the last century the Little Owl was introduced into England and is now resident in England and Wales. It is still a much debated question whether the introduction was a wise one. Generally introductions of foreign birds or animals have led to serious trouble. The House Sparrow in America and the rabbit in Australia are notorious examples. Hence artificial introductions should not lightly be attempted.

THE NIGHTJAR.—The Nightjar or Fern Owl may be more or less fittingly introduced here. It has certain characteristics of Owls: it is crepuscular and nocturnal in habits; it has large eyes, soft plumage and noiseless flight. But it also resembles Swifts in having long wings, small feet and bill and a wide gape. Yet it is neither an Owl nor a Swift. It is of a family by itself, our only representative of the Goat-suckers (*Caprimulgi*), of which there are over 50 species distributed almost over the whole

world. It is closely allied to an American group of birds of which " Chuck-Will's-Widow " and " Whip-poor-Will " are familiar examples.

Many names have been given to this bird, but it must be confessed that few of them are altogether appropriate. Nightjar is the most commonly used ; yet the song, from which the name is derived, is neither jarring nor unpleasant. Goatsucker, a name of very ancient origin and common to the whole family, arose from a wholly false notion of the intentions of the bird when seen flying at night among cattle. Jenny Spinner and Wheel-bird in England and Túrna lín (spinning-wheel) in Ireland arose no doubt from the similarity of the song to the whirr of the old-fashioned spinning-wheel.

The Nightjar is a summer visitor to this country, arriving early in May and departing again for South Africa in September. It is most frequently met with in Munster and Leinster, but its range extends to Mayo and Donegal. A good deal of my study of the bird was done during holiday time in western Mayo, where I regularly found it though in limited numbers. It frequents waste land, heaths, sites of felled timber, open plantations, bracken-clad hillsides and, sometimes, sand dunes near the sea. In Leix I found the species common in heather-covered bogland and in the young plantations of the Forestry Department.

Though only about 10½ inches in length, the Nightjar looks a big bird in flight owing to its long wings. Its general colouring is grey-brown, delicately mottled, spotted and streaked with dark brown and pale to rufous buff. The male has white spots on the outer wing feathers and has the outer tail feathers broadly tipped with white. These white markings of the male, which are absent in the female, show up sufficiently, except on very dark nights, to distinguish the sexes in flight. Both sexes have long bristles around the gape and a long middle toe with claw curved outwards and having on its inner edge a row of flattened, serrated projections like the teeth of a comb. The purpose of this pectinated claw has never been satisfactorily explained. Various suggestions have been put forward ; but the general verdict, expressed by Kirkman in 1911, that " a convincing explanation has yet to be found," would seem to hold true to the present day.

The Nightjar rests during the day, generally on the ground, sometimes on the branch of a tree, and owing to its protective colouring and almost closed eyes it is very difficult to detect. It will not take wing until nearly touched, and then it flies only for a short distance. At nightfall it wakes up to activity, when its flight is easy and wheeling, with sudden twists and zigzags in pursuit of insects, varied by gliding on extended wings.

About 20 minutes after sunset, usually before taking flight, the Nightjar bursts into a song which, surely, must be the strangest form of bird music. It is a sustained, vibrant, churring thrill, like rapid, somewhat " wooden " and slightly muffled tapping. Seebohm compares it to the sound of the

letter " r " rapidly pronounced so as to make the tongue vibrate. This churring song is delivered from a branch of a tree, sometimes from the ground, and may be finished after the bird has taken flight. It continues sometimes for as long as five minutes without much variation, except for a rhythmical rise and fall, due perhaps to a movement of the head from side to side, and it carries far in calm weather. The song is repeated during the night, especially when there is moonlight, and is often heard just before dawn. Short versions of the song are said to be given occasionally from the ground during the day; but curiously enough, on the only occasion when I chanced to hear a Nightjar by day, the song was rather long. Besides the song, the Nightjar utters a soft note like " co-ic " during flight and sometimes before the song, while the alarm-note is a higher-pitched " quick-quick-quick ". Then during the nesting season the male indulges in a series of claps with the wings, somewhat akin to the wing-clapping of pigeons.

The Nightjar makes no nest, but lays its two—quite exceptionally three—eggs on the bare ground, often close to pieces of dead wood. The eggs are variable in shape, often elongated and elliptical, and of a creamy white colour, mottled or blotched with yellowish-brown or dark sepia.

According to Dr. Collinge's analysis, the food of the Nightjar from May to September consists of 88 per cent. of insects harmful to agriculture and 12 per cent. of a neutral character. All the harmful insects are common and widely distributed, and amongst them the worst pests with which the farmer and the fruit-grower have to contend. It would appear that large numbers of these injurious insects are consumed. In one bird examined in July the stomach contained 15 June Chafers, 67 Garden Swift Moths, 40 Turnip Dart Moths and 8 Great Yellow Underwing Moths, while in a specimen dissected in August there were 163 Crane Flies in addition to fragments of numerous moths and beetles. I have already mentioned (cf. STUDIES, June 1943, p. 222) that the Crane Fly or Daddy Longlegs in the larval state is the notorious Leather-Jacket, one of the worst pests of the farm. It stands to reason that so useful a bird should be rigidly protected. The trouble is that so little is known of the bird and its services. Its weird, churring song, if it happens to be heard at night, may be ascribed by the older generation of the countryside to the *Banshee* or to departed spirits revisiting " the glimpses of the moon ". But when sophisticated youths set out to lay the ghost, their method of approach is too often with a shot-gun and on the old principle that " What's hit is history and what's missed is mystery." I have received for identification more than one specimen which had thus been shot, and they were all from districts where the species is likely to have been a summer visitor from time immemorial.

P. G. KENNEDY

THOMAS CROFTON CROKER
1798—1854

BY B. G. MACCARTHY, M.A., PH.D.

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TIME is a mocker. Dates are delusive. How else explain that in the direful year 1798 the King of the Fairies was born in Cork at Buckingham Square? It is true that in the Parish Register one would find this birth entered under the name of Thomas Crofton Croker, but such concessions are necessary when a sprite engages to masquerade as mortal. Still, though a fairy may assume a mortal name, he does not take on this mortal coil. Fairies remain fairies because they are no fools. You may know a fairy by his diminutive size, by his mellifluous tongue, by his old head on young shoulders, by his refusal to emerge from his own world into a world of human woes. Trailing clouds of gossamer he comes and he never divests himself of these airy integuments, but weaves them into a cocoon against the east winds of the world. Fairies are wise. Everything they touch turns to fairy gold. Fairies never grow up. Their elfin air of immaturity is an open sesame to the hearts of men and a shield and buckler against the critics. Fairies have charm. No one can kick a fairy—and if you are so brutal as to try, you find you merely encounter the empty air.

I

Thomas Crofton Croker was the only son of Major Thomas Croker of the 38th Regiment of Foot. The Crokers were descended from a Devonshire family, branches of which had settled in Ireland during the reign of Elizabeth and under the Commonwealth. Young Thomas was given his second christian name as a compliment to his godfather, the Hon. Sir Edward Crofton, Bart. Whether due to his connections or to a happy chance, it is to be observed that, throughout his life, he never needed to depend on the arts for his livelihood, but was in the happy position of being able to woo them during his leisure hours. At the age of fifteen he was put into the counting house of a Cork firm (Messrs. Lecky and Mark), but though it does not appear that he was neglectful of his duties, his real sphere of interest lay elsewhere. At an early age he had shown a precocious curiosity in various survivals of bygone times. Lays, legends, manuscripts, antique objects engrossed his attention, and even when he was a child his family considered him as something of an antiquarian. But soon his antiquarian quests needed wider scope. Between the years 1812 and 1816 he devoted his free time to desultory rambles through the South of Ireland. These journeys were undertaken sometimes on foot, sometimes in some hired conveyance; sometimes

alone, sometimes with his Quaker friend, Joseph Humphreys. In 1813 he went with Humphreys to the "Pattern" at Gougane Barra. This might have been the turning point of his career. It led, at any rate, to his first recognition in the world of letters.

It was on St. John's Eve, a day of perfect weather, that Croker arrived in Gougane. He was then only fifteen years old. Maginn and Sir Walter Scott have recorded their impressions of Croker when he was in his late twenties. Their descriptions, suitably modified, enable us to see him as he was on the day of the "Pattern". "Permit us," says Maginn, "To introduce to you Crofton Croker, the king of all the fairies . . . . but supposing him to be of mortal birth, he stands four feet ten inches high, weighs seven three quarters stone." Scott's words bring Croker more vividly before our eyes: "Little as a dwarf, keen-eyed as a hawk and easy and prepossessing manners—something like Tom Moore." Croker had come to Gougane to study the country folk in their habitat—rather as Fabre studied ants. A "Pattern" seemed to offer an excellent opportunity of observing people at their devotions and diversions—they remaining innocently unaware that the hawk's eye was bent upon them and that they were to be impaled on a pen's point. But students of human nature, fellows of the quill, are too apt to forget that while they are critically observing, they also are being critically observed. The people who, from early morning, flocked to Gougane, who swarmed along the edge of the lake; who circled the old graveyard; who danced, ate and drank in the tents; who gossiped, argued, laughed, courted under the shining summer sky—these were all part of one single whole. They shared a common heritage and a common fate. As the boy Crofton Croker surveyed them with amused detachment, one may be sure that they drew together and gazed back with an impassive solidarity, with that irony that expresses itself only by the deliberately guileless glance, a tremor of the well-controlled lip, the merest vailing of an eyelid. The investigator was being shrewdly appraised by the subjects of his investigation. He was obviously alien as he stood there blandly cocky. To the eyes quietly watching under battered hat and hooded cloak there must have been something irresistibly comic in the too large head, the tiny feet, the downy cheeks, the smugly patronising glance of this little wiseacre. "A crabbit little craythur—a little jackeen" would be the verdict.

The day wore on. Towards evening Croker and Humphreys went into one of the tents to regale themselves with curdy Kerry salmon and porter. As darkness fell and the air outside grew chilly, more and more people streamed into the tent. Soon it became too crowded for dancing. The piper went away. Story-tellers held court in quiet corners, their voices flowing steadily on through the confused babel of voices. Suddenly a man stood up, a dark mountainy man, and from his lips there poured a wild torrent of words. He began to sing. Silence fell. The people

crowded in upon him, their faces vivid with sudden emotion; and when he paused they shouted, mad with enthusiasm. What was he saying? What was he singing? Croker, sipping whiskey punch, made inquiry of an old woman who sat near him. He discovered that the singer was a Whiteboy who had been flogged at Tralee five years before, and that the songs "were rebellious in the highest degree." And then another old woman at Croker's side "began reciting, or rather murmuring, with a monotonous modulation of voice, about a dozen Irish verses, clapping her hands and rocking her body backwards and forwards. I asked my translator to explain what . . . . the old woman said."

That was Croker's first introduction to the keen. It was a curious experience for the young investigator. He had come to watch the rural gambollings of a crowd of poteen-drinkers and shillelagh-boys who spoke a droll travesty of the King's English. He had just seen them change before his eyes, withdraw into a life of which he was ignorant and a language which he could not understand. He was shut out. Maybe then, for a moment, he had some inkling of an ancient race, of a people who cherished with a deep, secret, fierce tenacity an immemorial culture. If he had, the vision did not last. He determined to look into the matter of Irish poetry, since it might at least afford some curiosities that would interest the English public. And it happened that, a few years later, the keen he took down in translation that night in the tent served to introduce him to English literary circles.

If Croker's inherited outlook, his temperament and his educational equipment had been different, his visit to Gougane Barra might have given his researches a new orientation. But it must be said for Croker that when he went to Gougane he was very young. Fifteen years was, after all, no great age at which to abandon inculcated views and to open his mind to a fresh conception of Irish life. He belonged to a garrison as truly cut off from the real life of Ireland as if, in fact, they were enclosed within the Pale. It was scarcely to be hoped that people of the privileged class would question the system from which their privileges were derived or inquire into the fate of the submerged majority. That the boy Crofton Croker did not so inquire or question cannot well be held against him. That the man Crofton Croker persisted, until the day of his death, in this culpable ignorance must lay him open to censure.

II

As a private individual Croker's views would not have mattered. As a professed antiquarian his deliberate blindness and the lacunae in his knowledge matter very much. His initial success and the greater part of his literary reputation were based on his supposed knowledge of Irish history, Irish literature and the folklore, traits, customs and superstitions

of the people. A true investigator would have needed a comprehensive knowledge of Irish history, of the Irish language, of Irish antiquities. He would also have needed to be in close contact with the Irish mind and heart. But what, in fact, was Croker's qualification for his chosen task? He claimed that he learned Irish, but despite his published translations from Irish poetry, there is strong evidence to support the view that of the Irish language he never had more than a smattering. On the whole he considered that Irish was a suspect tongue, a convenient cloak for the expression of seditious sentiments—" few, if any, of the gentry being acquainted with it, as they consider it too vulgar and inelegant to form a part of their studies." As we shall see later, it also seemed to him a disadvantage that Irish should have woven, as it were, into its very fabric the idolatrous tenets of the Catholic Church.

Croker's attitude to Irish history was that it began with the Norman invasion and that everything prior to that event was almost entirely mythical. Stating his aim in *Researches in the South of Ireland*, he says: " It is not intended to dazzle the reader with elaborate descriptions of the regal splendour of Tara, the scholastic learning of Lismore, or the achievements of Brian and of Malachi, that unfairly usurp the sympathies awakened in our childhood for magic banquets, enchanted castles and the chivalry of the Seven Champions, although the veracity of these marvellous stories, aided by a deceptive precision of date, have been maintained by many Irish historians with a sophistry at once ingenious and absurd. Whether the matter of such old chronicles be false or true, there is now little to be gleaned from these repositories of monkish labour, either of an amusing or an instructive nature." (Chap. 1, p. 4.)

In the field of politics Croker professed to have no prejudices either way. He deplores, on the one hand, the methods employed by the English government to subjugate Ireland and, on the other, the refusal of the Irish people to be subjugated. But it is interesting to observe that Croker's deprecation of English methods in Ireland applies only to such bygone days as the Elizabethan and Cromwellian periods. When he speaks of Elizabeth's reign in Ireland he quotes the well-known passage: " These deputies, and the deputies of the deputies, were strangers and soldiers, needy and tyrannical—their duty, conquest—their reward, plunder—their residence, an encampment—their administration, a campaign." But he ignores the fact that, in his own time, these words were equally true. He had to ignore it because he was the descendant of—even immediately the son of—a stranger and a soldier. He had to ignore it, since only by ignoring it could he continue to regard the insurgent Irish as traitors and to speak of them as " these criminals ".

Naturally Croker was aware of the immense gap between the ascendancy and the native Irish. But he never speaks of the native Irish. He calls them " peasants ". The resentment which this designation arouses in

the Irish mind is often a source of surprise to other peoples; but if we consider the meaning of this word, if we consider the people to whom Croker applied it, if we consider by whom it was applied, resentment is the mildest emotion we can feel. The word "peasants" in any other country not merely indicates an avocation, but also implies a social class. But those whom Croker labels "peasants" were not a separate social class. They were a separate people—the remnants of the native Irish who had been reduced to the lowest social level and who differed from their alien ascendancy oppressors in race, in language, in culture, in religion. Used of this native population the word "peasants" could not possibly denote a social class, because the people to whom the word was applied were really a conglomerate of many classes of society—all forced by pressure from above into an apparent sameness of poverty and menial employments. One might as well suppose that that other conglomerate, the Irish ascendancy, could be considered an aristocracy—a laughable supposition when one recalls the origin of many a foreign adventurer who rose to wealth and title on the backs of the dispossessed Irish and on the confiscated property of the Catholic Church.

And so we come to consider another barrier which intervened between Croker and the people whose lives he wished to interpret. It was the barrier of religion. Religion, indeed, never should be a barrier, but it had been rendered so by the Penal Laws and by the political purpose underlying the Penal Laws. To understand the mind of the Catholic native Irish, Croker would have needed deep sympathy and insight. He would have had to allay their distrust by honest tolerance before he could even get within sight of knowing them. But Croker was not tolerant. Among the many superstitions which distracted the mind of the "peasantry" he would have ranked the superstition of the Romish Church. He finds Catholic beliefs underlying many of the curious and absurd customs of the people—as, for example, "the tenet of purgatory or qualification for heaven" which he regards merely as a source of revenue for priests. One does not know whether to ascribe to Croker or to R. Adolphus Lynch the contrasted picture of Irish priests which appeared in *Legends of Killarney*, but since both writers had a hand in the book, it may fairly be taken to represent Croker's point of view. The passage expresses preference for "those jolly, social, charitable, old, 'butter-booted' priests, who are so different from the political, unsocial, jesuitical, sly, young, canting, soberly-clad priests of the present day." (*Legends of Killarney* ed. Tegg, chap. xix, p. 248).

III

The keen which Croker wrote down at Gougane Barra from the translation made by the old woman was the lament of Flory Sullivan's mother, composed by her when her son was hanged about fifteen years

previously. Croker sent the keen to his friend Sainthill, and in 1815 Sainthill got it published in the *Morning Post*. Two years later it attracted the attention of the poet Crabbe, who wrote a commendatory letter to Sainthill. Thus encouraged, Croker decided to collect other keens with a view to publication. He sought for a professional keener and discovered a Mrs. Harrington whom he induced to come from South-west Cork so that he might obtain from her some of the vast store of Irish verses she had collected. He tells us that " the clearness, the quickness and elegance with which she translated from Irish to English, although unable to read or write, was almost incredible." From Mrs. Harrington he obtained many keens in literal translation. When, after the death of his father in 1818, Croker left Ireland to take up a position as clerk at the Admiralty, he lost touch with Mrs. Harrington. In 1821 he returned to tour through the South of Ireland with Miss Nicholson and her brother. During this time he wrote down the *Keen on Young Ryan*, but he does not say where he obtained it.

When next Croker visited Ireland Mrs. Harrington was dead. He paid a Mrs. O'Leary to come to Cork, but she was a poor substitute for Mrs. Harrington. However, Mrs. O'Leary secured for Croker the help of an old man named Murray who styled himself a " land surveyor and philomath ". It was from Murray that Croker got the *Keen of Mr. Hugh Power*. Murray was, in fact, a schoolmaster, and his opinion of Croker is clear from the description which Croker gives us—evidently unaware of the reflection on himself. He describes the philomath as a poor, ragged schoolmaster " whose miserable habitation of sods, cemented with mud and constructed in a ditch, scarcely seemed a human abode ; yet before the door of this hovel, surrounded by a group of admiring compeers and disciples, he harangued with almost the energy of inspiration, on the superiority of the literature of his country ; declaring that some scribbling pretenders to knowledge have made it a determined point and standing rule to calumniate and throw as much dirt as they could on Irish history, laws and morals ; thereby imagining that they did a mighty piece of service to England and the King of England, by traducing the people who were once the terror of the Danes, and who gave kings to Scotland and even to England itself " (*Researches in the South of Ireland*, 1824, *chap. xviii*, p. 335). Croker states that Murray " had some knowledge of the Irish language "—an amusing example of meiosis which serves further to show the relations existing between these two. Mrs. O'Leary, on the other hand, was most flattering and obliging, even to the extent of composing for two shillings a " keen " on Crofton Croker's departure to England, which, with guileless egoism, he published in *Fraser's Magazine* and in *The Keen of the South of Ireland*.

The fact that Croker published translations from the Irish, that he talked glibly of scrutinising Irish manuscripts, and that he learnedly

discusses Irish derivations might be taken as proof that he really knew the language. But when one opposes to this supposed evidence the innumerable mistakes in his use of Irish and the fact that he seems incapable of writing even the simplest Irish words correctly, the case against his supposed knowledge piles up significantly. It would not be possible to enumerate here Croker's mistakes, nor is it necessary since his works are available for examination. It is not merely in his earlier years, when it might be pleaded that he was merely a learner, that these blunders are apparent. In *Popular Songs illustrative of the French Invasions of Ireland* (published by the Percy Society in 1846) Croker states that " the Shan Van Vocht " means literally " the old crippled woman ". Actually the question of an earlier and a later period does not arise at all in regard to Croker's knowledge of the Irish language. It was in his earlier period, when one might suppose him a mere beginner, that his prose and verse translations of Irish poetry appeared—including even translations from Keating. How then reconcile the correctness of these translations with the rudimentary errors which convict him in his other works ? The solution seems, quite simply, to be that Croker obtained from Mrs. Harrington, Mrs. O'Leary and from the redoubtable philomath literal translations of such poems as he intended to publish, and that when, as during his residence in England, Croker relied upon himself for such phrases as he wished to interpolate in (for example) *Legends of Killarney* or *Researches in the South of Ireland*, he merely revealed his ignorance. The footnotes in the *Fairy Legends* in which he gives derivations of Irish words merely imply that he consulted Vallancey, O'Brien and others.

Croker exercised great care in his choice of keens for publication. He says : " Some keens which have come into my possession are so spirit-stirring that I do not consider it prudent to print them under the sanction of the Percy Society." In that passage Croker's purpose is apparent : to gain the attention of the English public without giving offence. Irish poetry as the inspired and free self-expression of the people never, in fact, interested him. He merely followed a vogue which had a number of adherents in England at that time. We know, for example, that Harrison Ainsworth (the English novelist) had begun a versification of *The Fisherman's Lament for his Sons*—working, no doubt, from the literal translation of that poem which had appeared in Croker's *Researches*. Ainsworth abandoned his project when he learned that Croker was publishing another versification of the poem in *The Keen of the South of Ireland*.

It seems that Croker was given to using the same material over and over again. For instance, the keens which appear in prose translation in *Researches* appear in versified form in *Fraser's*, and are gathered together with the addition of six other laments in *The Keen of the South of Ireland*. This book also contains three of Callanan's translations. Some of these versified keens of Croker's are quite good, but we cannot agree with his

opinion that his versified translation of the *Keen on Felix MacCarthy* is superior to Callanan's (which appeared in *Bolster's Magazine* no. 3, Cork, 1826). Croker's contributions to *Fraser's* appeared as *Specimens of Irish Minstrelsy*. These included not only the keens already mentioned, but also *Rockite Songs* and *The Songs of the Brazilian Emigrants*. The *Rockite Songs* are evidently so called because they are anti-Rockite. *The Songs of the Brazilian Emigrants* are chiefly interesting in that they recall the fact that, in the year 1827, three thousand people left the South of Ireland for Brazil.

Before leaving this branch of Croker's activities a word should be said in regard to a work already mentioned: *Researches in the South of Ireland*. This quarto volume appeared after Croker's Munster tour with the Nicholsons in 1821. It contains many sketches by Miss Nicholson (who later became Mrs. Crofton Croker). One may find in this book some very interesting information both topographical and archaeological. Croker's descriptions are reinforced by his excellent drawings. Here too is recorded in musical notation *Ollistrum's March*, a clue to that interest which prompted Croker to send to Tom Moore about forty Irish airs. *Researches* is interesting also in that it contains the first hint of the *Fairy Legends*.

Rightly to evaluate those works of Croker's which we have discussed, we must consider them in relation to the great projects which were set on foot by a contemporary of Croker's—George Petrie, also born in 1798. One might ask if, from the year 1818 onward, Croker had not been living out of Ireland, he would have wished to share in the achievements of Petrie, O'Donovan and O'Curry. It is to be doubted. He might have been interested in establishing a proper museum in Dublin or in helping to make a topographical survey of Ireland. But he could not be induced to feel anything but contempt for " the monkish chronicles " in which he includes the *Annals of the Four Masters*, the *Ulster Annals*, the *Annals of Innisfallen*, the *Book of Ballymote* and the *Psalter of Cashel*. Of all such manuscripts he says: " Although we feel anxious for the preservation of such relics, yet it almost appears an idle ' amor patriae ' to suppose that Irish literature or history can suffer even by the total loss of the legendary records of an age of ignorance and superstition." (*Researches in the South of Ireland :* chap. xviii, p. 334). So did this alleged Irish scholar, historian and antiquarian dismiss the rich heritage of documentary evidence which was to be the basis of modern research in Irish history and literature. It is always just to judge a man's achievements by his pretensions. Let it be remembered then that in 1847, when O'Donovan was translating the Irish *Book of Rights*, Croker was collecting *Popular Songs illustrative of the French Invasions of Ireland*, chiefly by the simple expedient of copying them out of the anti-Irish *Collection of Constitutional Songs* edited by A. Edwards (Cork, 1799). At least one cannot enter a verdict of " not proven ".

IV

When Croker went to live in England in 1818, he spent a week with Tom Moore in Wiltshire before taking up his duties at the Admiralty. Helped, no doubt, by such patronage, he seems to have lost no time in making literary contacts. We find him, in 1820, joining with Sydney Taylor and others to found a weekly paper, *The Talisman*, which however survived only from June to December. Four years later *Researches in the South of Ireland* appeared, and was favourably noticed. By then Maginn had been one year in London, accepted as a man of established literary reputation. It is natural to suppose that in Cork he and Croker had been well-known to each other. In London they were evidently on intimate terms. It is cogent at this point to mention two other men who moved in Croker's circle. One was Richard Pigot of Kilworth, Co. Cork (later to become Chief Baron of the Exchequer in Ireland), then a law student in London; the other was Thomas Keightley of Co. Kildare. He had been forced by ill-health to abandon the law course at Trinity College, Dublin; whereafter, in 1824, he applied himself to literary and journalistic work in London and was befriended by Croker. Later he became known as the author of two works: *Fairy Mythology* (1828) praised by Jacob Grimm; and *Tales and Popular Fictions* (1834).

We have seen that in *Researches* Croker had revealed his interest in Irish superstitions and in legends of Banshees and pookas. He had already collected and written out a number of such stories for publication when a most unhappy accident befell. He lost the manuscript. But there is an Irish proverb which says: "That which seems worse to a man even than death may become his greatest good fortune." So it proved with Crofton Croker, for certain of his Irish friends generously came forward and helped to rewrite the stories which, as they were popular Irish folk-tales, were well known to all of them since childhood. The good Samaritans who came to Croker's rescue were Maginn, Pigot, Keightley, Humphreys (the friend of his boyhood) and R. Adolphus Lynch (a resident of Killarney). Each of these men wrote a certain number of the stories so that Croker might be enabled to keep pace with the printers. The completed collection, known as the *Fairy Legends*, appeared in 1825. Since the book was the work of a number of authors, it was obvious that Croker's name alone could not appear on the title-page. Two courses, therefore, were open as to declaration of authorship. Either the book should be presented in the names of all the men who shared the task of writing it, or else it should be presented anonymously. Croker chose the latter course, and thereby hangs a sequel of no little complexity.

No sooner had the *Fairy Legends* made its appearance than it was hailed as a brilliant success. It was quickly and very favourably reviewed

even by the most difficult critics. Sir Walter Scott wrote a congratulatory letter. The general public, that hydra-headed monster, shouted with all its mouths, acclaiming a triumph. Croker's name was made—yes, Croker's, for he it was who came forward to acknowledge sole authorship and to take to himself all the financial profits and all the fame. The first edition sold out within a few days. The Continent and America welcomed the new publication enthusiastically, and within the year the *Fairy Legends* were translated into German by the brothers Grimm. The second edition, which appeared in 1826, bore Croker's name. A French translation by P. A. Dufau followed in 1828. The *Legends* had first been published in the early spring of 1825. In April, Murray, eager to exploit the fairies still further, sent Croker posting off to Ireland for more tales. In 1827 Croker published, over his own name, the second series of the *Fairy Legends*. The first series of the *Fairy Legends* was now considered as part I. The second series consisted of part 2 (more Irish fairy tales) and part 3, which consisted of a long letter and an essay on Irish fairies by the brothers Grimm and a section devoted to Welsh fairy tales written by a lady of unspecified name, and given by her to Croker.

But what were the collaborators in the first series of the *Fairy Legends* doing all this time? Were they willing that Croker should appropriate all the fruits of a work which was only in part his own? The available evidence is scanty and, to some extent, inconclusive. Some points are clearly defined, however. Only one of the co-authors, Keightley, protested, and we shall see later how Croker dealt with his protest. First, it may be asked whether there is any real proof that the first series of the *Fairy Legends* is not Croker's own unaided work. The best proof is Croker's own admission that Maginn, Pigot, Humphreys and Keightley helped in the writing of the first series of the *Fairy Legends*. This is clearly stated in an article which appeared in *Dublin University Magazine*, 1849, and which was based on information supplied by Crofton Croker himself. The inclusion of Lynch's name among the collaborators is due to the statement made by William Bates (*Maclise Portrait Gallery*, 1283, p. 51). In support of this statement it may be said that Lynch specialised in tales of Killarney, that *The Legend of O'Donoghue* is a Killarney tale, and that it is written in something like Lynch's manner. The question of Lynch's authorship matters little, however. In the second series Croker thanks him for two stories: *Diarmuid Bawn, the Piper* and *Rent Day*. One may judge whether Lynch's contribution would be likely to raise Croker's literary prestige when one recalls that in *Diarmuid Bawn, the Piper* the inhabitants of a cabin keep a maid-servant. It is therefore quite unimportant whether or not we accept Bates's statement that Lynch collaborated in the first series of the *Fairy Legends*. It is very important and it is irrefutable that Maginn, Pigot, Humphreys and Keightley *did* collaborate. It might be postulated that, since (with one exception)

these men did not afterwards publicly claim authorship, they must therefore have agreed before publication that Croker should appear as the author of the entire book. But if this were so, why was that book not published at first over Croker's name ?

Among the stories in the first series of the *Fairy Legends* was one in particular which enchanted all readers. It was *Daniel O'Rourke*. This tale, by far the best in the collection, became, as it were, the prototype of all the others and was soon a household word, not merely in Britain and Ireland but much farther afield. Maclise's drawing for this story had given as the high-light of humour the scene where the eagle, putting his claw on his breast, had solemnly sworn : " Pon the honour of a gentleman." Sir Walter Scott himself repeated this gesture laughingly when, meeting Croker at a breakfast given by Lockhart on October 20, 1826, he urged him to make a pantomine of *Daniel O'Rourke*. The other members of the company (notably Terry the actor, Dr. Yates of Brighton, Newton the artist, Allan Cunningham, Hogg) added their voices. Croker was delighted to comply, and *Harlequin and the Eagle* appeared that Christmas at the Adelphi. It was published and underwent two editions (the second being published in 1828) under the title : *Daniel O'Rourke, or Rhymes of a Pantomine*. By 1828 the fame of *Daniel O'Rourke* had reached such proportions that Hungry Hill (the background of the tale) had become a place of pilgrimage, and a local playboy was rapidly drinking himself into his grave through the profits of posing as Daniel O'Rourke. Writing on October 2, 1828, Prince Puckler Muscaw says : " I am just returned from an excursion of sixteen miles with Colonel W—— to Hungry Hill, a lofty mountain at the end of Bantry Bay, remarkable for its waterfall and for Thomas (*sic*) O'Rourke's flight to the moon on the eagle's back, which began here and has so often been related in prose and verse. Even in Germany this amusing tale has been repeatedly translated, and has probably fallen into your hands. The hero of the story is a gamekeeper of Lord B——'s, who is still alive and almost always drunk. On our return, Colonel W—— introduced him to me at the inn. He is now extremely proud of his celebrity, and seemed to me when I saw him to be projecting another visit to the moon."

While, in Bantry, life endeavoured to authenticate fiction, Limerick was eager also to pay its tribute to the author of *Daniel O'Rourke*. In 1843 the people of Limerick presented to Croker, " the fairy historian of Ireland," a silver ink-stand. The most outstanding feature of its design was an eagle's head.

It is clear, therefore, that it was not merely the first series of the *Fairy Legends* that made Croker's name, but in particular one story of that series—a story which, one cannot doubt, was written by Maginn. Maginn himself never publicly claimed authorship, but he is responsible for a private record of the tales which he contributed to the *Fairy Legends*.

Bates tells us: " My friend, the Rev. Charles Arthur Maginn, M.A., Rector of Killanally, Cork, informs me that he has in his possession a copy of the *Fairy Legends*, in which he noted down from the direct statement of his brother, the ' Doctor,' the tales contributed by him to the work. These were four in number,—' The Legend of Knocksheogowna,' ' The Legend of Bottle Hill,' ' Fairies or no Fairies ' and ' Daniel O'Rourke,'—the last named certainly one of the best in the collection." A small volume containing some of Maginn's short stories, as chosen by his nephew the Rev. C. A. Maginn of Sheffield, appeared in 1933 and included four of the *Fairy Legends*. Maginn's brother and Maginn's nephew agree as to his authorship of *Daniel O'Rourke, The Legend of Knocksheogowna,* and *The Legend of Bottle Hill*. There is a discrepancy as to the fourth tale for which authorship is claimed. Maginn's brother claimed for him *Fairies or no Fairies*. Maginn's nephew claimed for him *The Legend of Knockgrafton*. Internal evidence does, in fact, strongly suggest that Maginn wrote both. External testimony coincides as to the other stories, and even if it did not, anyone familiar with Maginn's writings could not fail to recognise the master hand. There is much in Maginn's proven work which bears the same stamp as *Daniel O'Rourke*. There is nothing in Croker's proven work even dimly comparable to it.

It may be of interest to consider Croker's own attitude in regard to this question of collaboration. In the preface to the second series of the *Fairy Legends*, he speaks of " My former volume translated into German by the brothers Grimm." Yet, in a letter to the brothers Grimm he speaks of the satisfaction which their German translation of the *Fairy Legends* gave to " *the writers* ".

No doubt, the gossip of the time, the information circulating verbally made it impossible for Croker to deny outright the question of co-authorship particularly since the collaborators were all alive and able to give testimony, had they wished. Why did they not do so ? One can understand Maginn's attitude, at any rate. It was the outcome of his usual careless good-nature. Maginn, always a spendthrift in everything, was improvident as to money and fame. When, as a schoolmaster in Cork, he contributed pseudonymously to *Blackwood's* over a period of years, he was so indifferent as to payment that he refused it and even returned a cheque. He was so indifferent to celebrity that for long he refused to reveal his identity. We know too that Croker was by no means the only writer for whom Maginn hastily dashed off some piece of writing, without considering its value or even wishing that it should be acknowledged. It scarcely seems possible that when *Daniel O'Rourke* achieved such renown, Maginn should remain indifferent while Croker took all the laurels. The fact remains that never, by word or action, did he express resentment. On the contrary, we know that Maginn accepted Croker as a regular contributor to *Fraser's*. The picture entitled *the Fraserians* shows him as a member of this inner

circle. In *The Gallery of Illustrious Literary Characters* Maginn's character-study of Croker is very kind. One may suppose that Maginn, at the height of his career, did not grudge the success that his stories had secured for "Crofty". With the world as one's oyster what does it matter if one drops a stray pearl or two? But even if Maginn and the others had tried to establish their claim, it would have been useless. Keightley seems to have felt keenly on the subject, but he did not establish his authorship. One can see that since the stories were well-known folk-tales, Croker had a loop-hole of escape which any question of individual artistic achievement did not prevent him from using. Fairies are wise—so wise, in fact, that no one can kick a fairy.

As an example of the criticism which was being bandied around and which even found its way into print, there are the rather libellous lines of A. A. Watts (*Literary Souvenir*, 1832, p. 236):

> ". . . See Crofton Croker,
> That dull, inveterate would-be joker;
> I wish he'd take a friendly hint,
> And when he next appears in print,
> Would tell us how he came to claim,
> And to the book prefix his name—
> Those *Fairy Legends*, terse and smart,
> Of which he penned so small a part;
> Wherefore he owned them all himself,
> And gave his friends nor fame, nor pelf."

V

When, years later (in 1849), *Dublin University Magazine* proposed to publish a biographical article on Croker, the writer approached Croker for some account of how the first series of the *Legends* came to be written. He obtained a very digressive and confusing description which he seems to have taken down and published without comment. In giving his interviewer the names of Maginn, Pigot, Humphreys and Keightley, Croker said that they "rewrote some of the tales—writing in most instances, from dictation." One might well inquire why, if Croker needed only scribes, he did not engage a few undistinguished clerks whose ability to write rapidly from dictation would fully satisfy his requirements. There would be indeed a superb insolence in the implication that Maginn had nothing better to do than to act as amanuensis to Croker; but Croker's careful phrase "in most instances" leaves the question open. *Dublin University Magazine* continues: "The tale of *Daniel O'Rourke* as printed in the *Fairy Legends* was, we are assured in the autograph of Mr. Humphreys

touched up by Dr. Maginn and, finally, very much altered by Mr. Croker—to all of whom it had been perfectly familiar." And again *Dublin University Magazine* states very significantly: "Much has been said respecting the authorship of the tale of *Daniel O'Rourke*, which became extremely popular in England on its appearance in the *Fairy Legends;* more, perhaps, than the matter deserves. Mr. Crofton Croker, however, has supplied us with the following account of its rise and progress, until it came into his hands." Then follows a learned disquisition on the antiquity and persistence of the theme which envisages a voyage to the moon. Croker takes refuge behind a *cheval de frise* bristling with such names as Ariosto, Milton, Bishop Wilkins. Ponderous references to Sanscrit origins whistle past our ears; and then, since Croker well knows the value of a manoeuvre, he attempts to divert us with a charmingly irrelevant anecdote of Mr. Doyle, a Dublin surgeon, and Mr. Quin, the actor. Doyle is supposed to have invented the story of Daniel O'Rourke. It appeared in the *Dundee Repository* about the year 1790. In 1820 it appeared in *Blackwood's*, versified by Gosnell of Cork. It was very popular orally in the South of Ireland. So it flows on—this torrent of evasions. The mind, twisting and turning behind the smiling facade, cunningly directs the persuasive tongue. But we are as little deceived as he. No one knew better than Croker that the point was *not* the origin of the folk-tale *Daniel O'Rourke*, but rather the authorship of that perfect version of *Daniel O'Rourke* which appeared in the *Fairy Legends*. No one knew better than Croker the slippery tactics of the leprachan.

In 1834 the third edition of the *Fairy Legends* appeared in Murray's *Family Library* series. This consisted of one volume containing the first and second series of the *Fairy Legends*—with certain omissions. Most of the copious notes which had appeared in the previous editions were now excluded. In addition certain tales were omitted. The object of omitting these tales and the principles on which the omissions were made are stated in the preface, and a more ambiguous and non-committal statement cannot easily be conceived. Since Croker was at such pains to be non-committal, it would surely have been easier for him not to have attempted any explanation, but evidently he felt that it was incumbent on him. *Dublin University Magazine* tells us that this preface was due to the fact that some publisher had claimed for Keightley the authorship of the *Fairy Legends*. Croker explains as follows the principles on which he excluded certain tales: "Forty tales descriptive of Irish superstitions now appear instead of fifty. All superfluous annotations have been struck out, and a brief summary at the end of each section substituted, explanatory of the classification adopted, in which a few additional notes have been introduced, as well as upon the text. It is therefore hoped that this curtailment will be regarded as an essential improvement; some useless repetition in the tales being thereby avoided and much irrelevant matter

in the notes dispensed with, although nothing which illustrates in the slightest degree the popular Fairy creed of Ireland has been sacrificed. *At the same time the omission of a portion of the ten immaterial tales will sufficiently answer doubts idly raised as to the question of authorship.*"

So far from allaying existing doubts this preface renders confusion more confused. Croker tells us that to achieve compression he omits certain tales on the score that they are redundant and merely repeat aspects of fairy lore already illustrated. In the last sentence of the preface he suggests a second principle on which omissions are based, *i.e.*, to answer doubts concerning his authorship. It follows, therefore, that the tales omitted are not his and that the tales retained are really his own. It follows also that the tales omitted are redundant—since, as he does not inform us to the contrary, we must conclude that the principles of exclusion must work together. But a brief consideration of the tales omitted makes it impossible to accept Croker's statement.

In the first place the number of tales omitted is eleven—not ten, as Croker affirmed. Of these eleven stories we are surprised to find that only seven belong to the first series and the remaining four to the second series. Were it not for these exclusions we should have ascribed to Croker the whole of the second series (excepting, of course, the two stories he acknowledges from Lynch). But the significance of the concluding words in the preface cannot be escaped, and therefore we are now forced to suspect also the authorship of the second series. It may be contended that once these four tales have been discounted and Lynch's acknowledged, we can then surely accept the remainder of the second series as Croker's. By no means. What Croker retains on the score of authorship cannot convince us, seeing that he retains all of Maginn's stories in the first series and merely omits such stories as he decided he did not want. It would be useless to argue that, since Keightley was the only one of the collaborators who asserted his authorship, Croker therefore cut out the tales written by Keightley and kept the rest. This opinion is untenable since it is impossible to believe that Keightley, angry at the usurpation of his authorship in the first series, would contribute further stories to the second series. The principle of redundancy does not seem to work any more clearly than the principle of authorship. For example, *Soul Cages*, a very good story omitted from the second series, cannot be redundant since it shows an aspect of Merman life not illustrated by any other tale in the entire collection. It cannot be omitted because it is Keightley's. It cannot be omitted as of doubtful worth, which is the only real principle on which Croker's omissions seem to be based—although, it must be added, that he does not always evaluate intelligently.

Like all of Croker's alleged explanations, this preface only involves one in inextricable confusion. One point of real interest arises, however. Since five men other than Croker had a share in the first series of the

Fairy Legends and since we can distinguish only Maginn's stories, it is impossible to judge what Croker really did write in this collection. It was therefore all the more necessary to be able to identify the second series as his own, so as to give him due credit. It would have been pleasant to know with certainty that he was the author of *The Lady of Gollerus* and *The Wonderful Tune*, since those two stories deserve praise. But Croker was so occupied in shrouding authorship in mystery that in the end he has put even his own authorship in doubt. If he had had sufficient forthrightness to state, once and for all, the tales which should be assigned to each collaborator, it would be possible to discuss his own achievement. That it is not possible is perhaps a fitting retribution. Croker, like the Tuatha De Dannans expecting attack, has conjured up a fog; but unlike those abler wizards, he is powerless to remove it.

VI

Literary problems which agitate the mind of posterity are often not recognised as problems in the lifetime of the writer. When the mutterings about the *Fairy Legends* had died down, Croker's name, blazoned on the title-page, remained as a simple solution of the intricate question of authorship. The general public had never been aware of any intricacy, and for those in literary circles the conflicting evidence, the discrepancies and the doubts were worn away into a pleasant smoothness by the effacing tide of time. Croker, lifted on a tidal wave of success to a safe pinnacle, could have maintained his position even without further efforts. But Croker remained a busy man. In 1829 appeared in two volumes *Legends of the Lakes; or Sayings and Doings at Killarney; collected chiefly from the MSS. of R. Adolphus Lynch, Esq., H.P., King's German Legion by T. Crofton Croker*. The facts underlying this publication were briefly as follows: Lynch arrived in London bringing with him a collection of Killarney legends which he submitted to Croker. Croker was most helpful. He wished to save Lynch's book from appearing to be an imitation of the *Fairy Legends*, so he decided to make some slight changes in the manuscript. This he did by linking the stories together in such a manner as to make it appear that they had been related to Croker during a tour of Killarney. As well as unifying Lynch's very indifferent stories by making himself the central figure, Croker added some material of his own, of which we can identify one tale, *Clough na Cuddy*, which had appeared in the *Fairy Legends* (second series). This story of a wine-swilling Friar Tuck need not detain us. Lynch had all the financial profits from *Legends of the Lakes*—which left a few pounds in his pocket after he had paid the expenses of his trip to London. Croker had all the fame. Two years later a second edition appeared in one volume under the name of *Legends of Killarney*. Croker's is the only name which appears on that title-page.

In the realm of fiction or semi-fiction two other works appeared in Croker's name. These were the novels published in 1832 and entitled: *The Adventures of Barney Mahoney* and *My Village versus Our Village.* They were not, in fact, written by Croker, but by his wife. Glancing through these deplorable effusions one tries in vain to find a clue to Croker's assumption of authorship. Was this snapper up of unconsidered trifles unable to resist his old habit of publication without tears? Or should we see him as a preux chevalier, braving the critics' laughter so as to get his wife's work into print? It seems that, by hook or crook, Croker was determined to put his name on as many title-pages as possible.

The remainder of Croker's life is a crescendo of honours showered on him by historical and antiquarian societies. He helped to found many such, notably the Camden and the Percy Societies, on whose councils he served. He also edited a number of manuscripts which need not be enumerated.[1] The paper on Lough Gur which he read for the Antiquarian Society of London[2] derived from the information already noted in *Researches in the South of Ireland. The History of Kilmallock,* 1841, of which only fifty copies were printed and which is extremely rare, probably derives also from the *Researches.* Croker had a habit of heating up the cold joint in a variety of ways. He broke new ground, however, in that very interesting little topographical work, *A Walk from London to Fulham* (published posthumously, 1860).

The most memorable of the houses in which Croker lived was Rosamond's Bower, the perfect setting for his personality and one which indeed he created for himself. How he metamorphosed dull Brunswick Cottage into the romantic Rosamond's Bower is fully detailed in the description which he had privately printed and circulated in 1843. Having chosen the name, Croker hit on several reasons to justify it—ranging from the triumphs of some local horticulturist to the existence in the house of a staircase which he ascribed to the hapless lady. Common folk in passing omnibuses might hang out of the windows and shout ribald comments when the new name appeared. They did not matter. They were without the gates. All within was Croker's domain. One room was set aside as a museum, and it was here that Croker entertained his guests. Here assembled a galaxy of great ones: Moore, Maria Edgeworth, Jerdan, Sydney Smith, Rogers, Theodore Hook, Lucy Aiken, Father Prout, Lover and the Lords Braybrooke, Strangford and Northampton—names to conjure with; and Croker conjured with them.

[1] The most interesting of these edited manuscripts are:
Narratives illustrative of the Contests in Ireland in 1641 *and* 1690 (*Camden Society*, 1843).
Journal of a Tour Through Ireland, 1644, *by M. de la Boullaye de Gouz* (1837). In editing this work Croker had the assistance of James Roche of Cork, Father Prout and Thomas Wright of Cambridge.
The Memoir of Joseph Holt, General of the Irish Rebels in 1798, (2 vols, 1837).
The Autobiography of Mary, Countess of Warwick (*Percy Society, May* 1848).

[2] Published in *The Gentleman's Magazine,* February 1833.

They became part of his abracadabra—his fairyland. It was a magic house. Not merely did it preserve antiquity, but, in a whimsical way, it made antiquities; for Croker, poised above time as fairies always are, embalmed the passing moments for posterity. Did Maria Edgeworth sit in friendly converse, straightway a doggerel verse of Croker's composition was inscribed upon the chair:

> " Here Maria Edgeworth sat,
> And did pat
> A cat,
> Which did purr
> Unto her.
> What is there to make a stir
> About that ? "

Such inscriptions were liberally carved upon the furniture and, should one wish to take refuge in the garden, even the lawn was fairy ground. It was all so quaint. It was all so charming; so—so safe. There was no taint of financial worry. Croker could rely on his Admiralty salary. Even when he retired he would be granted a pension of five hundred and eighty pounds a year. And then too there was the money he had made out of various writings. Croker had fulfilled the words of Sir Walter Scott. He had made Fairyland his kingdom and it had proved a rich inheritance. He was happily insulated against the crudities of life. Not far off, at Walton-on-Thames, something very crude was happening. A man was coughing up his lungs in a red froth, with not a penny or a loaf in the house. Maginn, dissolute genius, reckless squanderer, Maginn of the *Fairy Legends* was dying the death that he had brought upon himself. Did Croker know ? There is no time to ask, for Rosamond's Bower is a-flutter with excitement. Croker has been giving a luncheon party to celebrate a new curiosity. Soon there will be a fresh carving on yet another chair:

> " Though once Walpole's pet, I was used very ill,
> And ' knocked down ' by an auction at Strawberry Hill.
> My bloom being gone like the bloom of a flower,
> Let me quietly fade here at Rosamond's Bower."

Let him quietly fade ! Farewell to Crofty as he stands there at the doorway, as he recedes into the years in that posture that had brought him fame. His tiny hand rests on his tiny heart as he repeats with elfin drollery: " 'Pon the honour of a gentleman ! "

B. G. MacCarthy

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MCKENNA, S.J.

LXVIII

Mág Shamhradháin's noble origin.

RAGHNALL Ó hUIGINN cc

1. Uaisle [a-]chách ceinéal mBréanainn
an ghlóir bhuilidh bhinnshéaghainn,
comhdhána bhfaghla na fir,
gabhla chongbhála an chóigidh.

2. Clann Bréanoinn mhóir mheic Fhearghna,
curaidh uallcha oireaghdha,
[ar ngarbhaicme] thoir ná thiar
ní oil chlannmhaicne a coimhfhial.

3. Trí meic Fhearghais nar éar neach
Eochaidh Duach Fearghna fuileach
sreang re a dtromshluagh nír thriall fear,
triar dar chomhdhual an cóigeadh.

4. Fearghna mhac Fearghusa an flaith
d'uaislibh Connacht ba ceannbhraich,
óigfhear díoghoinn nachar dhocht,
do thríoroinn chóigeadh Connocht.

5. Rug do raghain ar n-a roinn
trian oirthearach an fhearoinn;
nír thrian cruinn ar a chomus
ó Dhruim Chliabh go Ceanonnus.

6. Ráinig d'Fhearghna an ochta gil
daingean is coillte an chóigidh;
beag bhfeadhma an t-ar san aimsir
ar ghabh Fearghna an fearainnsin.

7. Cruithneacht is mil na Midhe
ag teacht go gríbh nGáirighe;
fleadha phuirt Eamhna Uladh
go Fearghna is tuirc Thuadhmhumhan.

8. Ní tharrla d'fhearaibh Éireann
don ghormrosgach ghlaicmhéirsheang
neach fríoth do chlódh a chosgair
gidh mór gcríoch do chosnosdair.

9. Nír leigeadh do rígh Ruidhe
mac ná hinghean d'Iardhruidhe ;
gér thuar don choill bríogh a bhreath
ar a chloinn ní bhíodh biseach.

10. Ochtar cloinne—ba creach throm—
rugadh ó Fhearghna armchorr
do mharbh cumha dá chéad ban
im dhula d'éag don ochtar.

11. Imshníomh re huaislibh fear bhFáil
ar ndíoth chloinne chinn Ghabhráin,
éag don tslógh mhallbhan míolla
mór an t-adhbhar imshníomha.

12. Caoga ar céad go Cluain bhFearta
tre fhionghail a oireachta
—toisg nar léig ar ceal a chloinn—
téid is a bhean go Bréanoinn.

13. Do-rala taobhthrom torrach
an ghéis dóidgheal dearcmhongach ;
rosg mall nach geibheadh fa ghroidh
fa deireadh ann dá hionbhaidh.

14. Troisgid re Bréanainn mbreithcheart
an dias cháidh nar choinnimhthearc
caoga fionnbhan céad curadh
tréad biodhbhadh do bhaoghlughadh.

15. Musglais bean onchon Uisnigh
meadhón oidhche an adhuighsin ;
gor thús laoi don lachain ghloin
do bhaoi athaigh re n-iodhnaibh.

16. Beiris mac—ba maith an tráth—
ar dteacht na maidne mochthráth,
rath Dé ar a naoidhin do nimh,
lé ba faoilidh a faisgin.

17. Baisdis an mac suairc sona
Bréanainn mór mhac Fionnlogha ;
tug a ainm féine ar an bhfear
's a thairm ós ghléire Ghaoidheal.

18. Dun naoidhin chruthaigh corpghlain
tug Bréanainn a bheannochtain ;
teannobthor cath ar a chloinn
tre rath beannochton Bréanoinn.

19. An céad laoch 's an leithchéad ban
tugsad ofráil don éarlamh ;
fáilte ag ainglibh Dé mon dáil,
ba saidhbhir é ón ofráil.

20. Subhach tángadar dá dtigh
ar mbaisdeadh [an] mheic mhuirnigh ;
ceann sluaigh ba déadla i ndeabhaidh
géagdha fhuair a oileamhain.

21. Mac eile d'Fhearghna éachtach
Aodh Fionn an flaith roidhéarcach ;
do chloinn an ríogh shuairc shoinnimh
síol Ruairc agus Raghoilligh.

22. Na trí tuatha tá fan gCoirr
a-táid sin ar sliocht Bréanoinn ;
an rí do dhíol gach duine
dá shíol na trí teaghluighe.

23. Athair Baithín nar bheag rath
Bréanoinn mhac Fearghna fleadhach
gan deoradh do thogra ó thír
an leomhan brodla Baithín.

24. Mac Baithín an bheoil tana
Maonach athair Eochadha ;
maicne dan fearr a faigsin
ceann na haicme an t-Eochaidhsin.

25. Teallach n-Eachach nar éar sgoil
clann Eachadha mheic Mhaonaigh ;
a mbuar ag rígh ní roinntir,
an tír is uadh easloinntir.

26. Tómás mhac Briain an bhairr thais
oighre Eachadha armghlais ;
a chró d'ionghoire is dó as dleacht
is dó as ionbhuidhe an t-oireacht.

27. Tighearna Theallaigh Eachach
an tuir chródha cheirtbhreathach ;
tír do tháth ní dó as docra,
is mó [a-]chách a cumhochta.

28. Glór an aingil re athair
ar mbreith í Chuinn Chéadchathaigh
" Madh áil lat a fhaghail d'fhás
ar do mhac tabhair Tómás."

29. Do cheadaigh Dia ar flaith Fabhair
ainm apsdail dá abhsdalaibh ;
buaidh gach raith re n-a raghairm
an flaith fhuair man absdalainm.

30. Art is Brian is Aodh Eangach
[agus] Ruaidhrí is Toirrdhealbhach,
ainm gá ghairm uaibhse ní fhuil
nach uaisle ainm an abhsdail.

31. Ag mac Bhriain an bhruinne sheing
gen go mbé acht aontuath d'Eirinn,
ó Créidhe ní cheis ar crodh
mar badh leis Eire a éanor.

32. A-dubhartsa ris im runn
rádh nach aithbhearthor orum ;
" Neach fad chlú ní bhéara bás
méara acht gé dheach tú, a Thómás."

33. Tómás mhac Briain is báidh leam
a theisd ag éigsibh Eireann ;
Brian dámadh olc a eineach
ní bhiadh ort n-a impidheach.

34. Mac mheic Donnchaidh déad raigheal
nír haoradh 's ní haorfaidhear ;
mar tá go laomhdha an ceann cruidh
caomhna as fhearr ar na haoraibh.

35. Tómás Mág Shamhradhán shaoir
nach ob deaghlaoidh ná drochlaoidh,
dleaghmaid grádh don choirpsheang cas
ar ndán go coitcheann cheannghas.

36. Teagh nach dúntar re nduine
bruighean churadh Callmhuighe;
do bhiadh seal gach neach ar nimh
dá mbeath mar theagh an taoisigh.

37. Sochaidhe ag dul n-a dhaightheach
nach bí aointeach urnaightheach;
neamh nochon aghar ar áis
mar do-ghabhar teagh Tómáis.

38. Smuainiudh fhir na n-abhradh ndubh
go rachadh d'éag [gach] aonur;
fir thalman gá mbreith don bhás
adhbhar im nach teich Tómás.

39. A-tá ag marcach Mhuighe an Sgáil
fulong anfhorloinn d'aghbháil;
a neart ag cabhair í Chuinn
ó nach faghaibh ceart comhlainn.

40. Tuile samhraidh an saoghal,
teacht air nochan éanbhaoghal,
anaidh an tuile n-a thrágh,
samail [don duine] an domhnán.

41. Teidhm gan urchasg dá fhaghlaidh
fíoch an déidghil donnabhraigh;
fala re cách d'ú Chréidhe
áth abha ní haigbhéile.

42. A fheidhm ní leigeann ba lár
mac ríoghna Cruachna ó gCubhrán,
gan bhlaghadh bhfeadhma ar an bhfear
go ndearna an talamh teicheadh.

43. Mág Shamhradhán as gharbh ngliadh
creachaire iarthoir Oirghiall;
cleath Leamhna nochor leanudh,
's ní dhearna a chreach cruinneaghadh.

44. Cogadh an éachtaigh airgnigh
tug imshníomh ar easgcairdibh ;
re linn í Cholmán ní chluin
comhrádh as bhinn dá bhiodhbhaidh.

45. Tómás Mág Shamhradhán shaoir
mac mheic inghine Amhlaoimh,
cneadh nach iadhann a fhalu
fear [re hiarann] m'ealadhu. Uaisle

46. Uaisle Banbha man ngéis ngil
inghean mhiodhchar Mhéig Uidhir ;
is banua ríogh is ríoghna
an ghríobh ranua roighríobhdha.

47. Sbéis im dhán dá dreich naoidhe
Nualaidh inghean Éadaoine ;
foghnaidh gach ní [a-]dearum dhí
do-gheabhum í ba huaisle. Uaisle

48. Uaisle is féile ná gach fear
Aodh Ó Domhnaill díon Gaoidheal
clú ar Aodh is dleacht bhar nduaisne
is tearc aon nach anuaisle. Uaisle

49. Uasal leinn Muire máthar,
máthair meic Dhé ar ndeaghbhráthar,
beith seal gá guidhe i ngach guais
do-gheabh ó Mhuire mórdhuais. Uaisle

50. Uaisle an Dúilimh is a dhealbh
dom iomshnádhadh ar Ifearn ;
iomdha ann gáirthe is gleacach
an t-all cláirthe cuaisleacach. Uaisle

Translation

1. Most noble is every race sprung from Bréanainn of the lovely sweet courteous voice ; ever brave in fight are those heroes, supporting Pillars of the Province.
2. The race of great Bréanainn son of Fearghna are all proud illustrious warriors ; there is no race East or West as generous as our sturdy stock (?)
3. Three sons of Fearghus, hero who refused no man, were Eochaidh, Duach and martial Fearghna, three heroes with equal claim to the province ; no man attempted to measure the greatness of their great hosts.
4. The prince Fearghna, son of Fearghus, top-foam of Connachta's nobles, a sturdy generous youth, divided in three the Province of Connachta.
5. He chose for himself the Western share of the land ; no mere third was the portion under him, from Druim Cliabh to Ceanannas.

6. White-breasted Fearghna acquired the strong place and the woods of the Province; ploughing was an easy task while he held that land!
7. The wheat and honey of Midhe came to the Dragon of Gáiridhe; the wines of the castle of Eamhain in Ulaidh and the boars of Tuadhmhumha used to be sent to Fearghna.
8. No man in Eire was found to check the victory of the blue-eyed slender-fingered hero, though vast the lands he held.
9. To the King of Ruidhe or to Iardhruidhe (his wife) no son or daughter was left to survive; his family increased not, though the weight of his judgments deserved increase for that wood (his family).
10. Eight children—heavy loss!—were taken from stout-sworded Fearghna; grief for them killed two hundred women.
11. The loss of the children of Gabhrán's Prince brought despair on the nobles of the men of Fál and death on that multitude of gentle noble ladies; great the anxiety it caused.
12. That crime of his nobles (*i.e.* murder of his children) caused Fearghna with his wife and a hundred and fifty folk to go to Bréanainn at Cluain Fearta—a journey not without benefit to his race!
13. That proud-eyed lady, that swan of white hand and shaded eyes, who never shrank from giving steed, was now heavy with child and her time was come.
14. Then the chaste couple, great entertainers of guests, together with a hundred warriors and fifty ladies—a host to make foes tremble—fast against just-judging Bréanainn.
15. That night at midnight the wife of Uisneach's Wolf awoke; that white duck was long in travail till dawn of day.
16. At the coming of the morn early—blessed that hour!—she bore a son; God sent His blessing from Heaven on her infant, and she rejoiced to see it.
17. Bréanainn, great son of Fionnlogh, baptised the goodly blessed child; he gave the child his own name and his fame surpassing the choicest of the Gaoidhil.
18. To the shapely bright-skinned child Bréanainn gave his blessing; owing to the virtue of Bréanainn's blessing all temptation of the child was sternly forbidden.
19. The hundred warriors and the fifty ladies all made an offering to the saint; enriched was the saint by that offering.
20. After the baptism of the dear boy they returned to their home in joy; that boy became a redoubtable leader in fight, for he got every kind of training.
21. Another son of valiant Fearghna was Aodh Fionn, prince most charitable; of the stock of that bright eager prince come the races of Ruarc and Raghailleach.
22. The Three Tuaths dwelling about the Corr are of Bréanainn's race; all three families come from the seed of that prince who did justice to all men.
23. Feast-giving Bréanainn, Fearghna's son, was father of ever-blessed Baithín, a noble proud lion; no stranger was chosen by his land!
24. Thin-lipped Baithín's son was Maonach, father of Eochaidh; that race so well watched over, Eochaidh was its ruler.
25. 'Tis from the race of Maonach's son, Eochaidh, that Teallach nEachach, so generous to poets, gets its name; its wealth is shared by no (other) king.
26. Soft-haired Tómás is heir of blue-eyed Eochaidh; to guard his steading is his duty; the nobles should be grateful therefor.
27. Teallach Eachach's lord, gallant just-judging prince, finds it easy to unite the land; ever greater its power is growing.
28. When this scion of Conn Céadchathach was born, the angel thus spoke to his father: "If thou wouldst have his gallantry to wax strong, give thy son the name of Tómás."
29. God granted to the Prince of Fobhar the name of one of His Apostles; owing to that Apostle's name the prince deserved every blessing to be on his fame.
30. Art, Brian, Aodh Eangach, Ruaidhri, Toirdhealbhach—there is none of these names which ye give (your children) that is not less noble than the Apostle's.
31. Though Brian's graceful-breasted son has only one *tuath* of Éire, this scion of Créidhe is as content with his estate as if all Éire was his alone.
32. In my verse I said to him—and none can challenge the saying: "Death shall never find a man inferior to thee in glory; even when thou diest, O Tómás, thou shalt still live on."
33. I love to think of the repute in which Tomás, Brian's son, is held by Éire's poets; if Brian's generosity had not been so great, it would not be urging thee now.
34. The white-toothed son of Donnchadh's son was never satirised, nor ever shall be; the splendour of this fount of riches is its best defence against satire.
35. Tómás, son of noble Mág Samhradháin, refuses no poem, good or bad; we must love this shapely curly-headed hero who buys our poetry always.

36. Never closed against any man is the house of Calmhagh's Hero ; any man would spend any time in Heaven were it like this chief's house !
37. Crowds flock to his goodly house—no house of prayer and fasting ! Men are unwilling to go to Heaven when they can go to Tómás's house !
38. This dark-browed hero ever keeps in mind that all men must die ; the reason he shuns not death is that all men are being swept away by it.
39. The Knight of Magh an Sgáil can put up with all untowardness ; when he is at a disadvantage (in fight), his own strength helps him out.
40. The world is as a summer-flood ; to embark on it is full of danger, for the flood abates and dries up ; thus is the world like man.
41. A plague irresistible afflicting his foe is the fit of rage felt by this prince of white teeth and dark brow ; when Créidhe's scion is wroth with a foe, no river-ford could be more dangerous.
42. The son of (Maoilmheadha) Queen of Cruacháin Ó gCubhrán is unceasing in activity ; nothing can break down his energy until the world passes away.
43. Mág Samhradháin, rough in fight, raider of West Oirghialla, Prince of the Leamhain—no *creach* of his was ever pursued—it never even had to close up (?) (against attack).
44. The raider-hero's battling has terrified his foes ; while Colmán's scion lives, his foe never gets pleasant news !
45. Tómás Mág Samhradháin, a noble prince's scion, son of the son of Amhlaoibh (Ó Ruairc's) daughter (Mór)—his anger means (*i.e.* inflicts) an unclosing wound ; (but) my poetry is as a sword-bearing soldier (too).
46. Banbha's nobles are ancestors of (Nualaidh) Mág Uidhir's daughter, that fair swan ; that bright shining griffin descends from both a king and a queen.
47. Nualaidh, daughter of Éadaoin, fresh-faced lady, values my poetry ; every word I say to her has its effect ; I win her (love) owing to her noble character.
48. Noblest and most generous of men is Aodh Ó Domhnaill, guardian of the Gaoidhil ; I must glorify him for the rewards he gives me ; few men as noble as he.
49. I revere Mary Mother, mother of our kinsman, God's Son ; in all dangers a short prayer to her is well rewarded.
50. May God's nobles (*i.e.* saints) and His image (crucifix, etc ?) save me from Hell ; great the screaming and struggling in that hot-flagged pit of stony caverns.

Notes

Mag. MS. p. 27.

1*a*. a-*abest* *b*. gl. bu. bi. *c*. fa. *d*. chong. 2*a*. Br. *c*. re (n *above and dot below*) carrdarcne (?) *d*. cl. 5*b*. oirrth. 6*c*. fedh. 7*c*. fu 8*b*. -reng *d*. cch (n *over* c) 9*c*. a br. 10*a*. -tor 11*a*. fh. Fh. *c*. sl. ma. mi. 12*a*. Cl. F. *b*. fgoll (*line over* f) 13*c*. gr. 15*b*. adhuicsin 16*b*. mochrath *d*. bha 17*a*. -sdeas *c*. a fhear *d*. gl. 18*a*. dunaidh *b*. bea. *c*. *leg*. an gcloinn ? *d*. *leg*. mbean ? 19*a*. sa leched 20*a*. tigh *b*. a 22*a*. co. *b*. *leg*. mBr. ? 23*c*. -raidh *d*. -mhain 24*a*. *leg*. Bai. ? *b*. Echadha *d*. tech 25*a*. nEthach *b*. Maen. *d*. -ointir 26*d*. do sinbhaighe 27*d*. a- *abest* 28*d*. dho 29*a*. fha. 30*b*. agus *abest* *d*. abhsail 31*a*. Br. ; sheng *b*. be *c*. cdh (o *over* c) 32*a*. -artus *b*. aiferthor *d*. dech 33*a*. baigh *b*. tei. *d*. impedh 34*a*. Mac m (c *above*) Do. 35*c*. coi. 36*d*. i taoi. 37*b*. -aichtheach 38*b*. gach *abest* 39*b*. anbhfhorrl. *c*. i cabh. 40 *written across page* *c*. traigh *d*. *illeg*. ; domhnach casg *at end of line* 41*c*. ri 42*b*. cub. *c*. feadhma ar a f. 43*a*. is ga. 44*b*. easch. *d*. is bind 45*b*. *leg*. hAmhlaoibh ? *c*. falu *d*. risiarrand 46*b*. mi. 47*c*. a- *abest* 49*a*. *leg*. mháthar ? *c*. m(c *above*) *c*. nguais 50*a*. dealbh *b*. iomna.

THE SPANISH ENIGMA AGAIN*

BY PATRICK J. GANNON, S.J.

THE very title of Professor Allison Peers's new book, *Spain in Eclipse*, gives us a clue to its character. It assumes that Franco has failed to rescue his country from its chronic state of political unrest and that, in consequence, the present regime is doomed. Indeed the second part is largely devoted to forecasting the nature of the changes that are taken for granted as impending. Professor Allison Peers is thus in line with the many other writers in English who have recently turned aside from the world conflagration to examine the embers of the lesser one which was its prelude. They all appear to think that the embers are still smouldering—and even flickering menacingly.

In the case of other writers on Spain it is clear enough that the prospect of yet one more eruption of the Spanish volcano is not altogether disagreeable or undesirable. They seem to feel it would help the triumph of their own ideas throughout the world. Hence it is possible to discount a good deal that they write as coming more from the heart than the head. But Professor Allison Peers is an old friend of the Old Spain. He is one of those authors, rare in the Anglo-Saxon world, who are not under the influence of the Black Legend dating from the Armada and enshrined in Tennyson's well-known line: "The Inquisition dogs and the devildoms of Spain." On the contrary, he has done a man's part to blot out the memory of sixteenth-century Hymns of Hate and to make two important peoples of our civilization understand and respect one another. It is a tragic portent, then, that even he is convinced of the imminence of yet another revolution before the *convulsionnaire* of Western Europe can find peace or stability.

The author of *Spain in Eclipse* is far too well versed in the history of our continent not to know that the eclipse of Spain—following upon that of France, Italy, and perhaps something more than the eclipse of Germany—will make the eclipse of Europe certain, if not permanent. It may be that elsewhere, in other lands and amid other races, its influence will survive through the night of the new Dark Ages. But the continent that began its career at Marathon and Salamis will have become, as a far-seeing Frenchman foretold twenty-three years ago, a cape of Asia. Perhaps that is its fate anyhow—M. Demangeon seemed to think so—but it will be accelerated and made more catastrophic if even on the periphery of Europe we cannot look forward to some political tranquillity. Hence our author cannot have come to the conclusion in his book with anything but deep regret.

In *Spain in Eclipse*, as in all his works on Spain, Professor Allison Peers shows an intimate acquaintance with his subject. The first part is a synoptic picture of the events of the years 1937 to April 1, 1939, when Franco declared the war in Spain "over". It is extremely well done, enabling us to get a bird's-eye view in retrospect of the closing stages of the conflict. It aims at and attains a great objectivity —greater, I think, than is maintained through the remaining three parts. In these parts one can trace a slight but steadily-growing tendency to find fault, culminating in coldly hostile language towards the end. Clearly something has happened to make the friendly Englishman progressively dissatisfied with General Franco and, still more, with his assistants—especially Senor Suner, towards whom the author's tone is both bitter and contemptuous. Even the Caudillo himself dwindles in stature, until he appears a half-ludicrous, half-pathetic figure—a man who in 1939 had a great opportunity of leading his country out of the shadows into the light but proved unequal to the task. The concluding words of the book resume and summarize its thesis: "Where is the Spanish Lincoln? Only when he appears can there be peace in Spain."

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* *Spain in Eclipse*, 1937-1942. By E. Allison Peers. (Methuen, 1943, 15s.).

It is with diffidence and reluctance that I venture to question the findings of one far better qualified by knowledge of the facts. For all I know, things may be as bad as Professor Allison Peers depicts them. But confining myself to his own account of them, I seem to detect in his strictures a little of the bias natural to an Englishman in the present crisis of his country, which is engaged in a life-and-death struggle with the most formidable foe it has ever encountered. Though the worst of the danger is over and all the omens point not merely to survival but to ultimate triumph, still the nerve-strain continues. It is entirely intelligible, then, that Professor Allison Peers should be unable to bring, to the criticism of Spain's conduct, that detachment of spirit which is needed for wholly objective judgment. He cannot see things through Spanish eyes. In their recent struggle for existence Franco and his followers found in Russia and France open or furtive enemies, while in England and the United States powerful influences were working against them. Italy and Germany, on the other hand, gave them strong support in men and munitions. Franco and his followers cannot be expected to forget these facts just because England happens to be now engaged in a death-grapple with Germany.

But Anglo-Saxons, on both sides of the Atlantic, have a highly developed sense of their own righteousness. Their cause is always hundred per cent. just; their moral case hundred per cent. clear. They cannot enter into the minds of other peoples, for whom there are at least some counter-vailing considerations. They resent being reminded of little accounts not yet settled between them and these peoples—arrears of satisfaction never paid and wrongs never undone. It seems to them bad form to refer to the past, even the recent past, when they are at the moment so evidently God's crusaders for the kingdom of heaven on earth. And at every successive crisis in their history the same sense of righteousness informs and sustains them—without, however, helping them to impartial judgement of others.

To the detached onlooker Franco would seem to have exercised great restraint—let us say in July 1940—when he might have linked up with the triumphant German legions at Hendaye. Had he done so, the whole course of the war might have been different. The Straits of Gibraltar would have been closed and the Mediterranean would have become an Italian-Spanish-German lake. In that contingency the whole vast struggle might have ended early and otherwise; for it is foolish to maintain that England must have won in any event. At any rate it is evident that Franco, by his policy of non-intervention, rendered signal service to England. Whether Spaniards will hereafter approve or deplore this policy must depend upon the kind of requital meted out to it. And wise statesmanship should take cognisance of broad facts rather than of sectional sympathies or maladroit pronouncements.

Professor Allison Peers also charges the Franco regime with lack of humanity and statesmanship in the treatment of the vanquished. The sager counsels of appeasement did not always prevail over the spirit of spite and petty vengeance. If so, it was a deplorable mistake—but perhaps not unintelligible in the circumstances. It is too much to expect the victors to forget immediately the crimes and atrocities committed by the vanquished in their day of power. These were quite unprecedented—up to then at least—in the history of war. Some three hundred thousand innocent and defenceless civilians of every age and sex and calling had been butchered—including, on the testimony of Cardinal Goma, about 15,000 clerics—while 20,000 churches, monasteries, convents, and other religious buildings had been wantonly looted, desecrated or destroyed. Such an orgy of diabolic wickedness creates a problem of the gravest kind for a ruler on whom rests the responsibility of restoring order. Be he never so inclined to clemency, he has to remember that law loses its sanction if the very extremes of iniquity meet with no retribution. The immediate restoration to civil life of thousands guilty of the most brútal murders is not a policy followed by any government—even in its most generous

acts of amnesty. Whether the present rulers of Spain have found the golden mean or not I am not in a position to say; but that they have notably exceeded in vengeance is certainly not established in the pages of *Spain in Eclipse*.

Two instances, in particular, are cited—the aged Besteiro and Companys. The former, who remained on in Madrid to preserve order after the decision to capitulate, was thrown into prison, where he died—though there is no suggestion of maltreatment or foul play. As our author tells the story, this was a case of unworthy harshness; but one would like to hear the other side before pronouncing sentence. The other instance, the case of Senor Companys, is equally unconvincing. Companys was one of the central figures in the whole revolutionary era. Even before 1931 he was the legal adviser to the Anarchists in Barcelona and, on the death of Colonel Macia, he became the head of the Catalan State. More than any other intellectual he incarnated the separatism which was disrupting the unity of Spain and the anarchical tendencies which were dissolving society. Certainly he showed more gallantry than Negrin, del Vayo, Azana, Prieto and the rest of that noble brotherhood, who fled before the storm. He faced the music, even the music of the guns; and he died with dignity and courage. Hence nothing in life so much became him as the leaving it. But that does not show that he had not merited his fate or that clemency should have included him ? If it should, why do we hear in all the Allied countries the cry for the trial and punishment of the " war criminals " in Italy, Germany and Japan. Why are we told that it would be a mockery of justice to let the men at the top escape while the minor criminals, their instruments, suffer ? Once more the peculiar logic of the Anglo-Saxon mind is manifest. Their punishments are the vindication of justice, not the exercise of vengeance. But Franco's are impolitic, petty, reactionary—if not vindictive.

Professor Allison Peers also charges the Franco Government, in spite of some brave efforts and partial successes, with having failed to solve the internal problems confronting them. They have been too rough and high-handed in dealing with Catalan and Basque aspirations. The swing of the pendulum has carried them to the old despotic Castilian intransigence, which must in time provoke a fresh explosion of separatist passion. Again, this would be entirely in the Iberian tradition. I have already quoted Professor Allison Peers as asking for an Abrahan Lincoln to bring peace to Spain. Well, it is not clear that even an Abraham Lincoln could overcome the " particularismo " that has become pathological among the Spanish peoples. Lincoln himself escaped the searching test of implementing his ideals.

Doctors differ and patients die. Besides Professor Allison Peers, two other doctors—Salvador de Madriaga and Gerald Brenan—have recently prescribed for the Spanish patient.[1] It was my intention to examine also their diagnosis of the Spanish disease; but as I have already exceeded the space at my disposal, I must hold over for another occasion this examination. If Professor Allison Peers, in his sympathies, leans towards the Right, Senor de Madriaga and Mr. Brenan lean towards the Left.

P. J. GANNON

[1] *Spain*. By Slavador de Madriaga. (Joanathan Cape. 1942. 25s.).
The Spanish Labyrinth. By Gerald Brenan. (Cambridge University Press. 1943. 21s.).

REVIEWS

Politics and Sociology

RELIGION, SCIENCE AND SOCIETY IN THE MODERN WORLD. By A. D. Lindsay, Master of Balliol College, Oxford. Oxford University Press. 1943. 3s. 6d. net.

Dr. Lindsay's book, which is based on lectures delivered at Yale University, deals with the problem of freedom in religion, in science and in society. How he came to select this subject he tells us at the beginning of his first lecture: "My mind was turned in this direction by an incident in a recent discussion in which I took part. We were conferring, as so many these days are conferring, about post-war reconstruction. There was one session devoted especially to a diagnosis of the evils which had brought us to the present tragic situation. . . . . Then one speaker got up whose aim was to recall us to what he thought were more profound considerations. He said that before we considered any specific problems of reconstruction, we should ask ourselves a more fundamental question. Were we not at the end of an epoch? Were we not witnessing the end of Cartesian man? Should we not begin our reconstruction by going back seven centuries?"

The exhortation that we should go back to St. Thomas set the Master of Balliol thinking—as well it might. "Had the turn which Europe took in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries really been a mistake? Did men then really depart from the main stream of Western Civilization?" Somewhat arbitrarily, Dr. Lindsay interprets this challenge to mean not merely that Protestantism was a mistake, but that modern science has been such a misfortune, that we should give it up, and that Anglo-Saxon civilization and the great American experiment were also mistaken.

It is surprising to find that the effort to get away from Cartesian man or the adoption of the philosophy of St. Thomas should have such momentous consequences. There can really be no question of going back seven centuries, because any philosophy men now accept must obviously meet present problems. That Christianity implies a philosophical system which has been, in its main principles, adequately sketched out by St. Thomas is a conviction now very widely held not merely by Catholic but by Protestant thinkers. In particular this seems true of his moral, social and political theories. Few, if any, Thomists have realized that, by implication, they are hostile to modern science, to Anglo-Saxon civilization and to the great American experiment. It would be interesting to have this worked out in detail. Dr. Lindsay's lectures have not so wide a scope. He confines himself to the single problem of freedom, and his aim is to show that religious freedom or toleration is an inheritance of the Reformation due especially to the Puritan congregations, that academic freedom is an inheritance of the Renaissance due to Kant and the Germans, and that political freedom is due to Anglo-Saxon civilization and the great American experiment.

None of his conclusions, I think, can be accepted without considerable qualification and supplementation. His outlook is too narrow. He omits or overlooks historical causes and movements outside England and the United States. He does not quite escape from a suspicion of self-righteousness in his brief study of Anglo-Saxon civilization. He over-estimates the influence of Kantian philosophy on the development of academic freedom in Germany. It is strange with how little struggle that academic freedom seems to have collapsed. It is too much, perhaps, to expect heroism from university professors; but Dr. Lindsay is of opinion that English and American professors would behave better in similar circumstances.

What is of chief interest in these lectures is the philosophy on which they are built. It is a fundamental premise of this philosophy that the medieval Catholic tradition as a way of life, and also in its theology and philosophy, was imperfect and

provisional, that it needed modification in a variety of ways, and that it received this modification from the Reformation and from the Puritan congregations. The stress on the Puritan congregations is the vital point in these lectures, since in the Puritans' peculiar methods and experiences is to be found the basis of religious toleration.

Dr. Lindsay's views about medieval ethics are very surprising. He finds in the medieval world a conflict of two moralities: the morality of my station and its duties on the one hand—a curious anticipation of Mr. Bradley!—and the morality of grace and perfection on the other. This runs parallel, he thinks, with the distinction between the secular and the religious life. "The law of nature is regarded as a code of morality binding on every man, discoverable by reason without revelation. It was roughly identified with the Roman *jus gentium*, and Christian countries could therefore take Roman law for their law. There we have a standard to which positive law must conform, an agreed code of morality on which the State could be based .... On the other hand Christian perfection was on the whole to be sought in what is called 'the life of religion'—a life lived by the giving up of all secular ties. Thus each morality—that of my station and its duties and that of grace or perfection—had its own sphere."

This passage contains so many misconceptions that it would be a hopeless task to try to disentangle them. There is no basis whatever in medieval ethics for this supposed distinction between two moralities. The distinction between the secular and the religious life had no such meaning. It is odd that Dr. Lindsay does not seem to have noticed that the Baron von Hügel selects for his study of Catholic mysticism a "secular" saint, St. Frances of Genoa. The supposed "rough" identification of the law of nature and the *jus gentium* and the amazing conclusion that Christian countries could "therefore" take Roman law for their law, and that Roman law was a standard to which positive law must conform must fill any student of medieval ethics with bewilderment.

But what can be said for the opinion that the growth of religious toleration was due to the Puritan congregations? Their methods of free discussion are supposed to have been influential also in shaping modern democracy. The problem of the growth of religious toleration is a very complex problem. Many causes contributed—political, economic, religious, educational. Mr. Bertrand Russell and Mr. Laski are of opinion that the chief cause was economic. At a certain stage of historical development it became apparent that intolerance did not pay. There is little plausibility in so simple an explanation. The growth of religious indifference, the humanitarian movement, the fissiparous tendency among the Protestant sects contributed something. It cannot be argued that the Puritanical congregations gave any example of personal tolerance. They were, in fact, quite notably intolerant. Dr. Lindsay mentions Roger Williams, Oliver Cromwell and the Putney Debates.

But Dr. Lindsay's ultimate argument is philosophical. The medieval world stood for a static morality with fixed moral principles and an ultimate moral authority. This represented and embodied the tradition of Catholic Christianity. It was, according to Dr. Lindsay, entirely mistaken. Morality, it seems, is something constantly changing and growing and developing. From the free and equal discussions in the Puritanical congregations new and deeper religious and moral truths would, and apparently did, inevitably emerge. What they were he does not tell us. The individual, with his liberty of prophesying, was a more than adequate substitute for the great tradition of Catholic Christianity. Not merely was democracy born in these discussions, but also a morality more profound and more elastic than the previous legalized Christian morality. Here we have "the moral supremacy of the individual conscience" and we can see how fatal it would be to go back to St. Thomas.

That this method of free experimentation, supposing it to have been practised by the Puritan congregations, would be the best way to discover Christian truth need not be argued here. Such a view could only rest on some theory of personal inspiration. No one would be likely to accept it now. The theory of a changing morality too is plausible only so long as it is vague. No process of experimentation or free discussion could change the so-called negative principles which forbid murder, lying or theft. The positive principles—*e.g.*, love of one's neighbour—are equally unchangeable. The realization of these positive principles in the actual conduct of life may take a great variety of forms. It is part of the richness of the Catholic moral life that it expresses itself in manifold forms of individual sanctity. But this implies no change in the principles themselves. Max Weber argued that Calvinism did introduce a changed attitude towards wealth and worldly success, taking them to be an indication of God's favour. But this, if true, would certainly not be a moral advance and would be irreconcilable with any form of Christian morality. " Can it be," says Robert Louis Stevenson who himself belonged to the Puritan tradition, " that the Puritan school, by divorcing a man from nature, by thinning out his instincts and setting a stamp of its disapproval on whole fields of human activity and interest, leads at the last directly to material greed ? "

D. O'K.

CAPITALISM, SOCIALISM, AND DEMOCRACY. By Joseph A. Schumpeter. London : Allen and Unwin. 1943. 15s. net.

WE live in an age when far too many books are being written about everything. It is probably fortunate that there are fashions in subjects, so that every now and again a sort of literary stampede carries a herd of good, bad, and indifferent scribblers into some new or hitherto untrampled region, thus giving the ravaged regions time to recover. For years before the war economics suffered from this sort of excessive attention, which has been partly at least diverted from it by such more actual themes as the Czecho-Slovak crisis or the fall of France. In spite of the diversion, economics and its close neighbour, sociology, resemble districts which have received far too numerous and too large visitations from indiscriminate trippers. Very few of the books recently written on either are likely to be worth picking up after a short time has passed. Among the few it is fairly safe to prophesy that the book here under review will remain outstanding. Its author refers to the late Graham Wallas's *Human Nature in Politics* as a " frank and charming book ". His own has some of the same qualities, if it be understood that the frankness and the charm are of the American variety, more robust and pungent than can be expected from an English writer. Certainly its subject is such and its treatment so lively that it not merely seizes the reader's close attention from the beginning but tightens its grip upon him as he reads on.

Professor Schumpeter opens with an able analysis of Marxism, which represents (as he says) the fruit of many years' teaching. It is rare to find such an analysis, which is at once cool, detached, and up to a point sympathetic, without giving the great theorist of communism a shade more than his due. As an economist, Professor Schumpeter perhaps naturally tends to under-estimate the importance of Marx's Hegelianism and to criticise unduly his German and Russian interpreters for making it the master-key to his system. Marx's great power, in fact, lay in his astonishing fusion of the different elements which contributed, in distinct but yet converging ways, to make up the civilisation just now being re-tested in the forge of war—Hegel's historicism and dialecticism, the economics of Ricardo, and the utopianism and belief in violence inherited from the French Revolution. It is a mistake to single out any one of these elements as providing the sole " key " to Marx. Professor Schumpeter runs the risk of relapsing into the comfortable

nineteenth-century fallacy of treating Marx as a purveyor of outmoded economic theories. However we may interpret it, the history of our own times is enough to show that there was more in him than that.

It would not be fair, however, to accuse Professor Schumpeter of having misinterpreted Marx. His whole book is a proof that he has understood where Marx was right and exactly how much of him may be discarded as erroneous. Its great merit is that it treats of capitalism, in a way first pointed out by Marx, as a special form of historical civilisation, but in a far more objective and less apocalyptic fashion than the Marxian. This analysis of capitalism is the core of the book. It is shown to be a particular historical development due to the rationalising spirit which was born of the Renaissance and the Protestant revolution. The result of the analysis is that capitalism, by its own inexorable logic, leads naturally to socialism when fully developed. This seemingly Marxian conclusion is, however, arrived at by very un-Marxian methods, and the manner of its formulation is such as to give little comfort to the true believer. It at once raises the question " Can socialism work ? " which forms the subject of Part III of the book. Professor Schumpeter's answer, again arrived at by a careful analysis, is that it can ; but here again the apparently Marxian conclusion is in reality profoundly un-Marxian, and the kind of socialism envisaged has little enough to do with orthodox communism. Of particular present interest are the pages (228-31) where the application of a socialist policy, thus understood, to English conditions is discussed.

The fourth Part is if anything even more absorbing than what has preceded it, and one is almost tempted to say that it should be studied by every politician. It treats of the relation between socialism and democracy, and subjects the latter concept to the same kind of cool and penetrating analysis which capitalism and socialism have already received. What is called the " classical doctrine " of democracy, originating in seventeenth and eighteenth century speculation, is shown to be, for all its great historical importance, a superficial and unfounded theory. In its place there is offered a new and more realistic doctrine, which defines the democratic method as " that institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide by means of a competitive struggle for the people's vote." Between democracy thus defined and socialism as Professor Schumpeter has already defined it he concludes very frankly that there is in fact no necessary relation. This negative conclusion, however, by no means deprives the preceding analysis of its value, and it leads up to a most instructive discussion of the possible means by which the economic and political aspects of social activity may be healthily integrated. Here Professor Schumpeter is perhaps open to the criticism that he is a little over-optimistic. He may be said to have taken too little account of the destructive effect of capitalistic evolution upon what he himself holds to be essential to successful democracy in his own sense : the existence of " a social stratum which takes to politics as a matter of course ". The subject is one for prolonged argument, and upon its clarification may well hang the answer to the problem whether socialism is ultimately compatible with democracy in any real sense. A strong case could be made on Professor Schumpeter's own line of argument for the view that capitalistic evolution leads inevitably to dictatorship—once more a return to a near-Marxian conclusion.

The final section of the book is a valuable survey of the record of socialist parties in Europe since Marx. Here again Professor Schumpeter displays the same refreshing balance and coolness of judgment that he has shown all through his work.

M. T.

WEALTH FOR WELFARE. By H. W. Foster and L. V. Bacon. London: Macmillan. 1943. 12s. 6d.

DURING the last war, however cynically thoughtful men regarded the fair promises of the heads of those States that ultimately proved victorious, they all, without exception, longed ardently for the cessation of hostilities. In the present war, men who have sound ideas as to what constitutes human welfare contemplate the post-war period with an anxiety that is surpassed only by that which actually weighs upon their spirits as the disastrous struggle drags out its weary course. The outlines of the plans for peace-time which are becoming clear in the social and political views that find favour with the statesmen who will most probably determine the future course of the world, inspire serious misgivings. It is not impossible that the peace may prove more disastrous than the war. There is every likelihood that the principle of mechanisation, which has proved so fruitful of results in military affairs, will come to be regarded as holding promise of being equally successful in civil matters. There is real danger that the lessons of a mechanical war will prepare men's mind for a mechanical peace. This means a mechanically conceived social system built upon a mechanised economic basis.

The planning that is actively going on cannot but inspire aversion in the mind of anyone who holds personality to be the supreme human value; for the planning is un-human in its inspiration. Hence there is real relief in lighting upon some post-war scheme which does not do violence to the basic instincts of human nature. The proposals made by Messrs. Foster and Bacon are marked by sanity, measure, and a sympathy with, at least, some of man's needs. To them, therefore, can be given a certain degree of commendation.

The authors of *Wealth for Welfare* do not content themselves with giving abstract expression to their view on possible economic developments. They illustrate them by a telling concrete example. British Honduras is a very undeveloped British colony in the Caribbean Sea, occupying portion of the isthmus connecting the North and South Americas. It is miserably underpopulated, holding only 52,000 inhabitants, whereas its area should accommodate ten times that number. In the hey-day of the Maya Indian civilisation it supported even greater numbers. Over a large portion of its territory it is covered with forests, in which there is a considerable wealth of mahogany wood. The export of this is the chief source of revenue for the island; but, through careless exploitation of nature, this source is dwindling steadily. And besides, the mineral resources of the territory are practically unexplored.

Messrs. Foster and Bacon have intimate knowledge of this colony. They suggest the calling into being of a Development Authority, working in close harmony with the Home and Colonial Governments but empowered to devise and carry through, on its own responsibility, measures for the economic development of the colony. Its first task would be to make a thorough scientific survey of the whole area. This survey completed, plans should be drawn up for the utilisation of the resources whose existence should be revealed by this survey. The object should be to learn by experimentation how best to preserve and develop the existing supply of mahogany and, by clearance of useless wood, to open up suitable tracts for agricultural settlements. Husbandry and forestry combined should serve the dual purpose of supplying the primary needs of a decent human life and of increasing the wealth of the whole colony by the judicious export of surplus commodities. The conservation and enrichment of the soil should be the chief concern of the Development Authority. It is only by increasing scientifically the productivity of the soil, and at the same time taking measures to prevent its impoverishment, that the colonists can enjoy an improved and improving economic condition. With convincing logic the authors of this book show that, by the judicious expenditure of some ten million pounds, the whole territory could be transformed economically—industry developed, com-

munications opened, population increased, the amenities of life multiplied. With the growth in wealth of the colony would come a steady stream of immigrants from the other West Indian islands, some of which have a greater number of inhabitants than they can conveniently support. To accomplish all this work the Development Authority, equipped with adequate funds and constituted like a business company, should be unhampered in its action and unaffected by political changes of governments. It should also enjoy continuity and have the support of the Colonial government without having its procedure controlled by government departments.

Passing from a detailed account of the possible line of development to be followed in British Honduras, a survey is made of the economic conditions of other British possessions, notably of Kenya and the Seychelles Islands. A chapter is devoted to a study of the territories whose economic welfare depends on the Nile waters. A suggestion is put forward that after the war there should be established an Imperial Development Authority functioning in conjunction with similar institutions in the Dominions and in other countries friendly to England, and having power to devote science and money to the task of amplifying the resources of all the backward territories in the care of Britain and the other friendly states. This Authority should be—in constitution, method and purpose, but on a larger scale—similar to that which has been outlined for British Honduras. The result would be the gradual but steady rise in the standard of living through the whole world.

The proposals outlined in the six chapters of this book are feasible. They are well worth serious study. From the material point of view they have the support of experience and sound judgment. But there is one factor that is not taken into account by the authors. Man is not merely an economic individual. Poverty is a relative thing, and is far from being the unique source of human discontent and unhappiness. A sufficiency of the world's goods is normally requisite for human well-being, but the raising of the standard of living has not much meaning unless we know what right living is. It may be questioned, when things are considered even from the material point of view, whether the standard of living of the native has been raised when " he has begun to change his diet and this now includes maize, *tinned milk, tea,* sugar and *cigarettes* " (page 10). The italics are mine.

E. Leen

THE YOUNG CHRISTIAN WORKERS. By Vincent Rochford. London: Burns Oates. 1943. Pp. 82. 1s.

In a Brussels working-class quarter, forty-three years ago, a young clerical student knelt by his father's corpse and bound himself by oath to devote his priestly life to the workers. The organisation known as the Young Christian Workers (Y.C.W.) or *Jeunesse Ouvrière Chrétienne* (J.O.C.) is the fruit of that dedication. From the earliest days of his priesthood, Fr. Cardijn organised groups of working-lads and girls, and in 1924 these groups under the name of *Jeunesse Ouvrière Chrétienne* were united in one organisation for the whole of Belgium. In 1927 five working-lads of Clichy, one of Paris's most notorious slums, decided to start the movement in France. At the outbreak of the war the five had become one hundred thousand. Their congress at Paris in 1937 was one of the great Catholic events of recent years. At an open-air altar, built and decorated by Jocist boys and girls, the first former Jocist priest said his first Mass. Behind him knelt his mother and the four Cardinals of France with many Bishops, and 85,000 Jocists formed the congregation. " You are children of a miracle " was Cardinal Verdier's comment. These children of the miracle now circle the earth, and in October last Ireland had its own congress in Wexford. " You have won your spurs " said Dr. Staunton, Bishop of Ferns, in his sermon on the occasion. " I shall be glad to see this great movement spreading in this town, in this county, in this diocese."

That the Y.C.W. does not win its spurs merely through colourful rallies is shown in Fr. Rochford's booklet. It is a school of hard training, built on the rock of Catholic dogma and social principles, a school where under priestly guidance the young workers—" through themselves, among themselves, for themselves "—acquire an understanding of and enthusiasm for the Christian ideal. It takes for its guidance the principle enunciated by Pope Pius XI : " The first and immediate apostles of the working-men must themselves be working-men." Conquest of self, conquest of immediate environment, conquest of the working classes, such is the triple ideal which the apostle of the Y.C.W. has set before him. He is class-conscious ; but it is not the class-consciousness of Marxist teaching, for he is trained to see the various classes of society not as embittered opponents, but as groupings of the members of Christ's Mystical Body for mutual aid. By carefully graded methods of instruction and inquiry, he is taught to liberate himself from the unhealthy prejudices and unchristian thought-habits which the worker, in his zeal for his rights, seldom stops to question ; and gradually he develops in himself an attitude of mind towards his rights and his responsibilities which is informed and guided by the Gospel teaching.

But training and ideals are not enough. That is where many of our youth movements fail. The Y.C.W. also aims at creating a network of social services which help toward vocational guidance and aid the young worker to put his principles in practice. One national organisation, for instance, runs twenty-seven guidance centres, offering their facilities to all boys leaving school. And finally, while it stands outside all party groupings and is above politics, the Y.C.W. offers itself to the young workers as a representative body which will act in their name and for their interests. It has already succeeded in procuring many needed reforms.

Fr. Rochford's booklet will help to make the aims and methods of the Y.C.W. known in these countries. For all those interested in youth the booklet is essential.

D. O'S.

CELTICA

EACHTRA NA GCURADH and *COIMHEASGAR NA GCURADH.* Edited by Meadhbh Ní Chléirigh. *TRÍ BRUIDHNE.* Edited by Nessa Ní Shéaghdha and Máire Ní Mhuirgheasa. *STAIR FHÍR-CHEART AR ÉIRINN* (REILY). Edited by Nessa Ní Shéaghdha. Baile Átha Cliath : Oifig an tSoláthair. 1941-1942. 2s. each.

THESE books are numbers 1, 6, 2 and 3 in a series of modern Irish texts edited by a group of young scholars who worked under the general direction of Mr. Gerard Murphy. In *Studies* of December, 1942 (pp. 525-6) another reviewer wrote a notice of volume 7 in this series, the first part of Nessa Ní Shéaghdha's edition of the later *Agallamh na Seanórach.* Since then a second volume of that work has appeared ; a third is yet to come. Two other long texts make up the remaining five volumes of the series. These texts are not yet completed. They are *Stair an Bhíobla* edited by Máire Ní Mhuirgheasa and *Regimen na Sláinte* edited by Séamus Ó Ceithearnaigh. Of the former three volumes have been printed, of the latter, two. These two texts are amongst the most interesting and valuable in the series. A review of them is held over until they are completed.

Of the volumes under review the first three are editions of original late Irish romantic tales. To be quite frank, these tales are not likely to appeal to many modern readers ; and it is open to dispute as to whether the fault is with the modern reader. Mr. Murphy says, in an introduction supplied by him to Meadhbh Ní Chléirigh's edition of *Coimheasgar na gCuradh,* that it is a matter of taste. But one wonders if Mr. Murphy is correct in classifying these tales as " *Sgéalaigheacht*

na meadhán-aoise." Surely in Irish story-telling there is need to distinguish the medieval from the modern. In style and taste they differ greatly, and one may find pleasure in one and dislike the other. Many years ago, in *Irisleabhar na Gaedhilge*, 1906 (vol. xvii, p. 226), Dr. Eoin MacNeill wrote a brief but very interesting analysis of the subjects of later Irish literature as revealed in a large and representative collection of late material which he had just catalogued for the journal. In it he says: "Of modern romances or tales of adventure, one of the least interesting kinds of Irish literature, there are fortunately only 8 specimens"; and later: "The one section which is conspicuously silly, vapid and uninteresting is that which does not reflect the national life and thought, those late romances which were inspired by the late medieval or early modern fiction of neighbouring countries." Incidentally, the editor of the *Coimheasgar* states (*Réamhrádh*, p. vii) that she could not find any other manuscript of the tale except the Royal Irish Academy MS., 24 P 7 from which the story has been edited. Amongst the O'Laverty manuscripts described by Dr. MacNeill (l.c. 194), there is a manuscript transcribed in 1825 by Micheál O Murchudha. Pp. 19-192 contain a "prose tale, *Coimheasgar na gCuradh* or *Eachtra na gCuradh*, a modern story of romantic adventures." The description is confusing; the manuscript may contain both the *Eachtra* and the *Coimheasgar*. If it contains the *Coimheasgar*, it might help to solve some of the doubtful readings in 24 P 7 which are due to retracing. It may, however, prove to be a copy of 24 P 7; note the name *Michael Murphy* on p. 204 of 24 P 7. That may be the Micheál Ó Murchudha of the O'Laverty manuscript.

The final preparation of this volume for printing was not done by Meadhbh Ní Chléirigh, but by another. At that time the manuscript had been removed for safe-keeping and was not available. It was an unfortunate oversight that a photostat was not made. Apart from the short account of the manuscript, the introduction to this volume is supplied by Mr. Murphy. It is brief but very interesting and instructive, and does something to supply for the absence of notes. In connection with what will be said later, we may express here the regret that introductions with literary and linguistic notes of this kind were not supplied, under Mr. Murphy's direction and inspiration, to all the volumes of the series.

In the notice of the first volume of *Agallamh na Seanórach* already referred to, the reviewer asked the question: For whom are these books intended? the same question must present itself to the mind of all who read them. At the beginning of each book there is a note from the general editor in Irish which states that, "when the Minister for Education set a group of editors to work on these books, it was his desire that long texts as yet unpublished should be made available as soon as possible to readers of modern Irish, and that the texts should be presented exactly as they are in the manuscripts without much correction or attention to variants" (*gan puinn ceartuighthe ná breithnighthe leaganacha*).

To anyone familiar with late Irish manuscripts the wish expressed in this note must appear strange. The expression "readers of modern Irish" (*lucht léighte na Nua-Ghaedhilge*) means presumably the ordinary reader who reads for pleasure or to improve his knowledge of Irish. He may be distinguished from the scholar who, as such, is interested in dialects, lexicography, historical development, scribal vagaries and the like. The scholar wishes to know exactly what is in the manuscript; he welcomes a text with adequate introduction, critical apparatus, variant readings, indication of doubtful extensions by italics and so on. To the ordinary reader these are but obstacles; he wishes for a straight text, free from archaisms and errors and in a reasonably standardised spelling. In other words, editing for the general reader would call for a maximum of correcting and a minimum of adherence to the manuscript readings. The wish to have a minimum of correction and to present the texts exactly as they are in the manuscript could only secure that the texts would be largely unsuitable for the purpose for which they were intended.

Working under this odd charter the editors have laboured manfully, and, as was inevitable, they have fallen between two stools. In adhering closely to the manuscript spelling and by indicating the extension of contractions they have produced texts which may comfort the scholar, while they frighten away the general reader. On the other hand, the limitations observed in the matter of adequate introductions, critical notes on language and sources, vocabularies, variant readings, will make the books (with one or two exceptions) in that respect unsatisfactory for the only people who will read them. Without a doubt these additions could have been supplied, and supplied competently by the editors. One feels throughout that the editors have been cramped in their work; they have not been able to give of their best. Fortunately they have shown a progressive tendency to rely on their own judgement of how a text should be edited; and I do not hesitate to say that the value of these books is to a great extent in direct proportion to the latitude with which the editors have interpreted (or forgotten) the original charter. The furthest stage of emancipation is reached with Mr. Carney's edition of *Regimen na Sláinte*, where we get 60 pages of a valuable, technical introduction and where the Latin original of this medical treatise is printed in full.

The reviewer already mentioned, an Irish scholar who has read widely in Irish literature, testified to the difficulty of the language in *Agallamh na Seanórach* and commented on the lack of aid for the reader. The language of the first three books we are considering is not easier. Of all the books which appeared so far in this series I believe that only *Stair an Bhíobla* is likely to be read by the ordinary reader with ease and interest.

The anomaly is most clear in the case of the last of the four books we are reviewing, *Stair Fhir-Cheart ar Éirinn*. This book contains an Irish translation of Hugh Reily's *The Impartial History of Ireland* and of four shorter items, of which one is *The Speech and Dying Words of Oliver Plunket*. The editor is satisfied that the translation is the work of Uilliam Ó Murchadha. (At the end of the last of the five pieces is the note: *Finis. Uilliam Ó Murchadha. May* 10, 1772). In *Irisleabhar na Gaedhilge*, vol. xvii we have an edition of a translation of O'Daly's *Relatio Geraldinorum*. The editor of this text commented on the fact that the Irish of the rendering of the *Relatio* was of better quality than that of Stowe I v 1. Of it he says: *Ní'l an chainnt ann leath chomh blasta agus atá sa Chraobhscaoile.* Nessa Ní Shéaghdha states that it can be easily seen from the similarity of language and style that the translations are the work of the same man. That may well be correct, but it is a pity that the evidence could not have been presented, at least summarily, especially as the name of Uilliam Ó Murchadha appears on the title-page. Some of the apparent omissions, duplications and errors in writing throughout the volume point to the possibility that Ó Murchadha was but a copyist. For example, on p. 111, line 13, in the speech of Blessed Oliver Plunket there is an omission which makes the paragraph senseless. The editor does not advert to it. The words omitted are in the English text printed by Moran.

The subject-matter of Reily's pamphlet is dull. Of the language of the translation the editor writes: [I translate] "Although in the English original the sentences are very long and involved, Uilliam Ó Murchadha did not make much effort to improve or abbreviate them in Irish. He translated them as he found them—word by word, and it is frequently difficult to understand them. I did my best to improve matters by punctuating here and there, but frequently that could not be done except by altering the sentences radically; and I had to leave them alone [*Bhí orm iad d'fhágáil fé mar a bhíodar.*] However, that is not to say that the translation is entirely without merit; for it is not. Now and again, he uses a nice idiom, and that adds grace to the translation. One would think then that these portions were written originally in Irish." [*Ba dhóigh le duine annsan gur i nGaoluinn a scríobhadh na blúiri sin ar dtúis.*]

In other words we have a book which may interest the student of Irish dialects or the lexicographer or someone who will wish to study the evil effect of English on late Irish compositions ; but a book which should be kept as far away as possible from *lucht léighte na Nua-Ghaedhilge*. The book would be more valuable if the English original of which it is a translation had been printed also ; but the interests of the *lucht léighte* had to be safeguarded.

The amount of material already edited in this series is considerable, and it is a welcome addition to printed Irish literature. The editors are to be congratulated on doing so much good work within their narrow charter—and outside it. We only wish that their illegal excursions had been more frequent.

No Irish student can fail to appreciate and to be grateful for the considerable and generous patronage extended by the State to Irish scholarship under native government. But this series of books is a warning that, though he who pays the piper may have a right to call the tune, he need not tell the piper how to play it.

FRANCIS SHAW

EDUCATION

WHAT IS EDUCATION? Edward Leen, C.S.Sp., M.A., D.Litt., D.D. London and Dublin : Burns Oates & Washbourne. 1943. pp. 251. 8s. 6d.

THE present public preoccupation with the subject of education is an interesting phenomenon, the causes of which are many and complex. The forces which, in the course of a century or so, have, in many countries, brought about universal compulsory education up to what is commonly called the primary stage are now tending to bring about a further extension which cannot fail to have far-reaching results. The catastrophic events of the war, with their attendant train of miseries, have given a fresh impetus to the ever urgent longings for political and social reconstruction, and it is obvious that, if these are to succeed, the principles that inspire them must be reflected in educational schemes. The power, for good or evil, of centralisation has been so graphically demonstrated by the newest forms of government that there is a general scramble, on the part of reconstructionists of all shades of thought, to get hold of the entire nation, and therefore of the younger generation right down to the cradle. The power of ideals, again for good or evil, has upset in a startling manner the complacency of a generation that looked to some form of materialistic evolution as the driving force of all progress, and the most fruitful field for the sowing of ideals is obviously the adolescent mind. Again, there is the fact that the last century was one in which educational experiments took place on a scale and under a variety of circumstances previously impossible. Hence, personal contact with educational systems is now very widespread, and has naturally encouraged a questioning attitude towards educational methods and traditions. Many other causes could doubtless be adduced for this interest in educational problems, but even those that have been mentioned show what deep roots it has.

Dr. Leen's book, therefore, comes at a peculiarly opportune time, and is all the more valuable because it deals with fundamental principles. Amidst the storm of conflicting interests that inspire present educational schemes and theories, it is well to have clearly indicated the sheet anchors of eternal truth that will prevent dangerous drift or rapid shipwreck.

Dr. Leen states in his Introduction that, whilst he envisages chiefly the secondary school, his main theme applies equally to primary and university education. It should, indeed, have hardly been necessary to emphasise this fact. The distinction between primary, secondary and university education is not a specific one, but merely marks certain stages in a continuous process. Over-insistence on the distinction has led to misconceptions in the past, and circumstances are tending

rapidly to obliterate the frontiers between the three stages. All that Dr. Leen has to say about mental and moral formation, the development of personality and the evolution of a philosophy of life is of interest and value to teachers of every description.

Dr. Leen's main thesis may best be stated in the words of his Introduction: "The Christian alone knows with certitude and with truth what man is meant by the Author of nature and grace to develop into, intellectually, morally and aesthetically; the Christian alone knows unerringly the mental, moral and cultural disciplines requisite to form a man to be what he ought to be; hence the Christian alone can understand and formulate a right plan of education."

It might, perhaps, be thought that in the elaboration of such a theme Dr. Leen is, at least for his Catholic readers, only pushing an open door. It is a theme which has been made familiar to Catholic educationists by many authoritative declarations, up to the *Divini Illius Magistri* of Pope Pius XI. In most Catholic schools throughout the world there has been at work, during the past quarter of a century or more, a revivifying process based on this theme, and much reform has been accomplished. But the secularist mentality prevails universally outside the Church, and its influence may still be detected, in subtle ways, even in Catholic schools. Catholic teachers can no more rest on their arms in the struggle for the realisation of Catholic principles than they can in any other field of the spiritual combat. Dr. Leen's book, therefore, is of great value, both as a summary of Catholic educational principles and as a stimulus to their practice.

Certain sections of the book descend more to particulars, such as the place of mathematics in the secondary programme, the study of post-classical and Christian Latin authors at some stage of either the secondary or university courses, the introduction of "a set course of preliminary philosophy at the end of the secondary studies," and the revision of the catechism. On all these topics there is room for discussion among Catholic educationists, but it must be said that Dr. Leen's views are always thoughtful and stimulating.

The chapters on *Education and Religious Instruction* and *Education and the Catechism* are of particular interest. In the former Dr. Leen makes a strong plea for the vivifying of religious instruction by devotion to the Person of Jesus and insistence on the value of the life of grace. There is, of course, no room for discussion here; though one may note, in passing, the remarkable insistence of even the most childlike saints on the sanctifying effects of the salutary fear of God. Dr. Leen urges that such a vivifying of religious instruction is the remedy for "the indifference of our 'educated' classes to acquiring an enlightened and advanced knowledge of the faith in which they have been reared." It might be added that for the adult Catholic another powerful stimulus to further study of his religion is some form of active participation in the spread of Christ's kingdom.

Dr. Leen rightly emphasises the fact that the spirit in which religious instruction is imparted is of altogether greater value than the construction of the curriculum or the form of the text-books used. However, he grants that these latter have their importance, and he devotes an entire chapter to the most fundamental of text-books, the Catechism. He elects whole-heartedly for a complete revision, not merely of the wording and content, but of the entire structure of the Catechism. It should be planned on "psychological lines" rather than "logical lines". It should be "Christo-logical and Christo-centric". All these terms need careful definition, but Dr. Leen is quite clear as to what he means by them, and gives a more or less detailed outline of his proposed Catechism, which is to emphasise "the great central notions of the whole Christian scheme . . . . Divine Grace; Jesus the meritorious cause of Grace; the Mystical Body, the actual mode in which Christ's grace is communicated to and shared by man;" and, in its conception and in its form

" would approximate to the lines of the Gospel." Dr. Leen admits that the weight of tradition is against him, but he gives the case for his plan of the Catechism with considerable eloquence.

The problem of the Catechism is too large and of too great import to be discussed in a short review. The reader who is interested will find a very able and well-documented article on the subject by Rev. Dr. Martin Brenan, Professor of Education, St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, in the current number of the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*.

F. McGRATH

HISTORY

IRISH HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS (1172–1922). Edited by Edmund Curtis M.A., Litt.D., and R. B. McDowell, Ph.D. London : Methuen. 1943. 18s. THIS volume marks a new departure in the method of teaching modern Irish History in our Universities. There has been hitherto no single volume in which teacher or student could find, in convenient form and critically edited, the chief documents that throw light on the development of Irish political history. Of the five sections into which the book has been divided, Dr. McDowell claims responsibility for the last four, from the Tudor period to modern times. Professor Curtis, who died last March whilst this book was being prepared for the press, was responsible for no more than the first, relatively short, section on the period from the Norman conquest to the Tudors. He was in failing health during his last years, and it is not surprising to find that this earlier section is definitely the least satisfactory portion of the book as a whole. Dr. McDowell covers a wider field, and it is only right to begin this review by congratulating him most sincerely on the completion of a laborious but most useful task.

The plan of the book covers " the principal Irish constitutional and political documents, together with a number of other documents and extracts illustrating the main trends of Irish history from the introduction of English rule and the discipline of the medieval Catholic Church in the twelfth century to our own time." Dr. McDowell has, on the whole, interpreted that definition generously. We have here the letter which six Catholic lords of the Pale sent to James I during the Parliament of 1613–15 ; the orders, " to be observed as the model of their government," issued by the Confederation of Kilkenny in May 1642 ; the demands of the Catholics and the Protestants in 1644 ; as well as a long series of English acts from this period of Stuart rule. Again, from the eighteenth century, we have the full text of the Act to Prevent the Growth of Popery in 1704 ; the Catholic Relief Acts of 1778, 1782 and 1793 ; the resolutions of the Ulster Volunteers in 1782 ; the Declaration of the United Irishmen in 1797 ; and extracts from various speakers in the great Anglo-Irish debates of 1782–1800. In the nineteenth century we have the text of the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 ; the earlier Report of the Catholic Association's Committee in 1824 ; Daniel O'Connell's speech on Repeal at Mullingar in 1843 ; other speeches by Isaac Butt, Parnell and Gladstone on Home Rule ; an extract from Meagher's famous defence of physical force in 1846 ; the text of the Fenian oaths ; the chief documents concerning the Land League ; Douglas Hyde's speech on the necessity for de-Anglicising Ireland in 1892 ; and a series of representative documents concerning the earlier phases of the Sinn Fein struggle, down to the Treaty Debates of 1922.

There is much here for which every teacher will be grateful. But, when all is said and done, is it more than a bare half of the picture ? The absence of any document translated from the Irish language is bound to provoke comment, and not unfairly. Students of Irish history know only too well from personal experience how difficult it is to get satisfactory documentary evidence from the

Irish point of view. England is perhaps the greatest document-producing nation of the world's history. Our Dublin Civil Servants inherit a tradition that can be traced back to the reigns of John and Henry II, or indeed to William the Conqueror. The native Irish tradition lacks, almost wholly, this respect for the evidence of a written document, and the contrast between the two national traditions might be fairly stated by contrasting an Anglo-Norman charter with an Irish genealogical tract or bardic poem. Every phrase of the one is a legal statement of some precise right. The other is no more than the literary expression of ancient tradition or local custom. From the point of view of the editors of this collection, the former is eminently quotable, the latter much less so. The Book of Rights is the one outstanding example of a native Irish legal text, from which specimen examples might well have been chosen for translation and comment in this selection. The text is earlier than 1172, but the system it describes was the foundation of Irish political life when the Normans came to Ireland.

Yet it seems odd that we should read, in the Foreword to a collection of " Irish Historical Documents," that " purely Gaelic sources " have been excluded. " They reflect," we are told, " an archaic order of law, custom and institutions far removed from the normal medieval, and still more from modern, European civilization." As such they are " a world to themselves and must be left to the experts in this rare field of learning." Remote though they may be from normal medieval European life, these Gaelic sources are the very heart of the Irish tradition ; and some effort should surely have been made to let the student have easy access to documents which might help him in his task of reconstructing the lost tradition of the Gaelic state. As far back as 1853 John O'Daly edited a description by Donnchadh Bacach O Maoilchonaire (c. 1400 A.D.) of the inauguration of Cathal Crobhderg O Conchobhair. And there are many documents—some of them have recently been collected by Colm O Lochlainn in his *Tobar Fíorghlan Gaedhilge*—which reflect the influence of Anglo-Norman tradition on the contemporary Gaelic or Gaelicised Norman world. Some years ago Mr. Pender edited a seventeenth-century tract on MacMahon's prerogatives. Here is a text of precise legal significance, which would have formed a valuable counterpart to some of the purely English documents printed by Professor Curtis. And one or two of the earlier Irish charters which have been copied into the Book of Kells would be of interest as revealing the practice of making or confirming a grant in charter-form a full century before the coming of Strongbow and his Norman clerks to Ireland.

Even more serious are the omissions from the point of view of ecclesiastical history. Professor Curtis begins his selection with three documents that are a challenge to the whole Irish tradition : Pope Adrian's bull *Laudabiliter*, the constitutions of the Synod of Cashel as preserved in the highly partisan narrative of Giraldus Cambrensis, and the three letters of Alexander III in which that Pope commanded the clergy of Ireland to accept the new order and obey the English King. These documents were, in a sense, the very title-deeds of English lordship in Ireland. But if they are to be printed at the head of this volume, surely other documents might be included to throw light on the policy of Alexander III's successors. A specimen from the great series of Innocent III's letters to Irish prelates, or to King John himself, would show the actual working of this lordship under the direction of a Pope who was not afraid to rebuke an English king. Or again the mandates issued by Honorius III, when he learned the full measure of Anglo-Norman rapacity in the exploitation of Irish sees and benefices, would be a fitting commentary on Alexander's letters. More curious, and in some ways more instructive, would be the narrative (as recorded in the contemporary register of an Irish Bishop of Clogher) of the ceremonies with which O Neill and Mac Mahon accepted the official

promulgation of Boniface VIII's bull *Clericis Laicos* at the end of the thirteenth century. That document was printed by the late Dean Lawlor in the *Louth Archaeological Journal*. It would bring home to the student, as no document here printed brings home, the full difference between the Irish and the English interpretation of Canon Law at this period. For the editors are sadly astray when they say in their Introduction that " a Church organised like that of England " was one of the institutions that gave promise, in the thirteenth century, " that Ireland would become a complete replica of the greater island, in language, law and organisation." That is a most surprising comment to find in a critical text-book of Irish history at this time of the day!

The peculiar development of English institutions in that portion of medieval Ireland which was subject to English rule is poorly represented in this volume. Professor Curtis prints a long extract from the document which has long been known as " Magna Carta Hiberniae ". But he is here on dangerous ground, and a bare mention in a foot-note of recent studies by Dr. R. Dudley Edwards and Dr. Richardson is hardly sufficient warning that the whole nature of this document has been called in question. Again there is little here to enable a student to grasp the actual workings of the Anglo-Irish Parliament within the Pale before 1494. One interesting group of documents in this connection would have been found in the various texts connected with the effort made by a London Franciscan Bishop of Ossory (Richard Ledred) to introduce the Inquisition into his diocese in the fourteenth century; and the determined opposition which he encountered from the local Anglo-Norman lords. On the other hand, every student will welcome the long extracts here printed in translation from the French text of the Statute of Kilkenny; and a special word of acknowledgment is due to Mr. Charles MacNeill, who has supplied Professor Curtis with an accurate text of the Remonstrance of the Irish Princes, which was sent to Pope John XXII at the height of Edward Bruce's war against the English rulers in Ireland. Professor Curtis has also included some very instructive documents from his own standard *Calendar of the Ormond Deeds*. A selection from the Irish ecclesiastical texts printed by Wilkins in his *Concilia* would have added a valuable counterpart to these documents from the archives of a great Hiberno-Norman lordship.

It would be easy to continue the process of picking holes in the earlier sections of this volume. Neither the medieval period nor the Tudor period is adequately represented, and one cannot help feeling that a volume of equal size, beginning with the reign of Henry VII, not with Strongbow's invasion, would have been very much more successful. None of Henry VIII's religious " reforms " are cited in this selection, though the student is faced with the famous text in which Conn Bacach O Neill submitted to the King's terms, openly renouncing " obedience to the Pope of Rome " and forsaking " his usurped authority ". The text of the Acts which Henry's officials had forced through the Dublin Parliament a year or two before Conn's submission might surely have been included as an explanation of these terms. As it is, the student is left under the impression that Elizabeth's Act of Supremacy was the turning-point in English religious policy. But this text-book becomes very much more representative from the end of Elizabeth's reign, and students of modern Irish history will be deeply grateful to Dr. McDowell for many documents printed in the later sections and for the guidance of his brief but most helpful notes. A. G.

CALENDAR OF ORMOND DEEDS. Vol. VI. Dublin: Stationery Office. 1943. pp. 240. 21s.

With this volume the Calendar of Ormond Deeds is brought to an end. As each succeeding volume has appeared it has been reviewed in these pages, and the high tribute paid to the earlier volumes is in turn earned by this one also. It is finely

produced and is a credit at once to its editors and printers. In a short Preface by the late Edmund Curtis (general editor of the whole series) the scope of the documents contained in the volume is described. They range over the period 1584-1603.

This volume of the Calendar contains a record of 145 Deeds, which is followed by seven appendices containing, among other things, the findings of a Commission set up (1589-94) to establish the " Bounds of the Earl of Ormond's ancient estates " together with two royal inquisitions, one in regard to the " Palatinate powers of the Earl of Ormond " and the other bearing on the " descent of the Earldom of Ormond " (1613-25). Legal documents are never particularly attractive reading, and the documents in the different volumes of the Calendar of Ormond Deeds are no exception to this rule. For all that they are a valuable contribution in their way to the history of Ireland in the sixteenth century and illustrate well the immense power and privileges of the House of Ormond and the manner in which they were exercised. From the present volume we learn, too, how James I at one period ambitioned, though without success, the transfer of " the bulk of the Butler estates " as a marriage portion to a certain Scottish favourite. It is not, however, for episodes of this kind precisely that the Deeds have a lasting value. They have the additional merit of preserving for posterity an enormous wealth of names, both of persons and of places, and very frequently the relations of the one to the other. The value of the Calendar in this respect is considerably enhanced by the very full indices with which it is provided. C. O'C.

PHILOSOPHY

THE THOMIST. January 1943. The Maritain Volume. New York: Sheed and Ward. $3.50.

ALL philosophers, and scholastics especially, should rejoice at this fine and merited tribute to M. Maritain on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday. If his only achievement had been his widely recognised introduction of Thomism to the educated but unphilosophical laity, he would have deserved well indeed of all Catholics. But it is also evident from this anniversary volume, and from the works of his own maturity that his renown as an original philosopher will long survive him. Perhaps his outstanding contribution to established doctrine will be found in his Philosophy of the Sciences developed in *Les Degrés de Savoir* and excellently expounded in this volume by Professor Yves R. Simon. In that great work M. Maritain crowns the project of Aristotle to distinguish metaphysics and the other sciences by their formal object and, with admirable justice, determines the province of each and the respect it owes to the others. True, St. Thomas and John of St. Thomas had each given increasing precision to Aristotle's conclusions. Nevertheless M. Maritain found the question in so embryonic a state in the deposit of Thomism and brought it so clearly close to final solution that he will probably be regarded in future as the Arbiter of the Sciences.

Professor Waldemar Gurian makes a valiant story out of the development of M. Maritain's political philosophy from the haughty aloofness of *Action Française* theory to his present doctrine of personalism: civil society is subordinate to personality—that is, the spiritual values of each of its members—though superior to man as an individual, or in his material aspect. No mention is made of how far leftward M. Maritain has thus swung, so as to condemn even so mild an autocracy as that of Franco. Amongst the other articles one misses any formal treatment of M. Maritain's distinguished work in epistemology, though a neat article by Fr. Gerard Smith, S.J., appraises his friend M. Gilson's view of the rôle of sense in determining knowledge of existence, and Miss Ruth Anshen writes on M. Maritain's championship of reason. There is only passing allusion to *Art and Scholasticism* in one of the articles connected with the arts, one or two to M. Maritain's views on Christian Philosophy, and none at all to his speculations on the possibility of a Thomistic adoption of psychoanalysis.

It is impossible for a reviewer to mention every contribution to so numerous a symposium and invidious to choose when the general level is so high. But mention may be dared of Mr. W. R. Thompson's article on Providence, in which he makes the non-metaphysical proof of God's existence from the order of the world astonishingly convincing, of a slating of Edmund Burke's political ideas (only a little harder than they deserve) by Mr. Robert M. Hutchins, and of an article on Claudel by Professor L. S. Bondy, enlightening for all who wish to know what Catholic literature precisely means. There is also a very charming musical setting (not too modernistic) of an article of the *Summa* on the Angels simply accompanied by a fanfare of two trumpets, two trombones, and a tuba. The description is rather daunting, but the work should sound beautiful if some professor of theology, lecturing on the Angels, should choose to deliver his doctrine in this stately recitative. A useful bibliography of M. Maritain's works by Miss Ruth Byrns concludes the volume. We only notice one omission of slight importance in it, that of an early article on Freewill in *La Vie Intellectuelle.*

A. L.

HUMANISM AND THEOLOGY. (Aquinas Lecture, 1943). By Werner Jaeger. Milwaukee: Marquette University Press. $1.50.

THIS neatly-produced little book of less than a hundred pages has an importance out of all proportion to its brevity. Its author, Professor Jaeger, is one of the most distinguished and influential of German classical scholars. A pupil of Wilamowitz, and his successor in the Chair of Classical Philology in Berlin, he also succeeded the late Paul Shorey as Professor of Greek in Chicago in 1936 and moved from there to Harvard in 1939. He is famous not only for his fundamental work on Aristotle (1923), which for the first time clearly traced the development of the great philosopher's thought, but for his treatise on Greek culture and education (*Paideia*, Vol. I, 1933), which though not yet complete has been greeted as a masterpiece of interpretative scholarship. This lecture to the Aquinas Society at Marquette University reveals a hitherto less appreciated side to his work as a scholar and teacher. The chief criticism to which his book on Aristotle—for all its learning, subtlety, and skill—was vulnerable, lay in the fact that he rather tended to think of the Stagirite in his maturity as having a suspicious resemblance to a pre-Hitler German *savant*. In this he was no different from modern scholars in general, who, perhaps in England even more than elsewhere, are prone to underestimate the importance of St. Thomas as both the great interpreter of Aristotle's thought and the thinker who fulfilled what Aristotle had left half-divined or incomplete.

Briefly summarised, the theme of this lecture is that the systems of the two great Christian thinkers, St. Augustine and St. Thomas, represent the culmination of that theocentric humanism which was first fully manifested in classical antiquity by the teaching of Plato and Aristotle. It is obvious that this thesis gives a new insight into the process of Western civilisation as a whole, and produces a view of it very different from the view first produced by the revival of ancient letters in the 15th and 16th centuries and predominant among scholars since the 18th. In working out his thesis Jaeger finds himself compelled to make a clear distinction between two different conceptions of humanism: the standard modern conception, which may be said to have largely produced modern civilisation and which goes back, not to Plato and Socrates, but on the one hand to the Sophists of the 5th century B.C., whom Plato so bitterly criticised, and on the other to the mechanistic and materialistic philosophies of Democritus and Epicurus, whose schools were the rivals of the Academy and the Lyceum. The dividing-line between the two traditions lay in the fact that the thought of Plato and Aristotle was " theocentric ", in contrast to the dictum of Protagoras that " man is the measure of everything ". Plato was the first user of the word *theologia*, and his central doctrine was explicitly framed to contradict and supersede that of Protagoras.

It is often forgotten that the acceptance by St. Albert and St. Thomas of the

Aristotelian method constituted a tremendous revolution in Christian thought. What was novel to the Middle Ages was precisely the intellectualism of the great Greek thinkers; and in thus reviving Greek intellectualism medieval Christianity carried out a true renaissance, and put itself at once at the head of a movement which had hitherto been strongest in Mohammedan culture. " For the first time Western Europe began to participate actively in the international intellectual life of the time, which had arisen in the East." This was the real humanism, and its supersession at the time of the Revival of Letters, on the one hand by the rhetorical humanism of the Sophists and on the other by the mechanistic world-view of Democritus, was in the long run, for all the brilliance of the result, nothing short of a disaster. One of the most interesting points in a lecture full of interest is the demonstration that the poetry of Dante " reveals to us the full humanistic meaning of St. Thomas' philosophy and the Aristotelian revival." Jaeger makes a valuable little contribution to the interpretation of the *Divina Commedia* by showing that Dante's praise of Brunetto Latini, in the fifteenth Canto of the *Inferno*, as the man who had taught him " *come l' uom' s'eterna* " should be understood not as a reference to poetic fame but as an echo of Aristotle's injunction in the *Nicomachean Ethics*, that man should try to partake of eternal life as far as possible. In this praise of the contemplative ideal Greek and Christian humanism reach their most perfect fusion. M. T.

Fiction

THE GREATEST OF THESE. By Francis MacManus. Dublin: Talbot Press. 1943. 7s. 6d.

This study of a Bishop and a Parish Priest whom, after long suspension by his predecessor, the present Bishop of Dunmore restores to his sacred office, is a departure from Mr. MacManus's usual themes and makes perhaps the most striking book that he has so far written. He can not only handle English but he can weave a tale, the warp and woof of which are such characters as are here wrought into a pattern: the Bishop, his " Jeeves " Peter, a few of his priests, and his old teacher, Fr. James Phelan, sometime P.P. of Bannow, now living forgotten and an outcast in a cottage in the hills. Some doubts may suggest themselves as to the handling of the story; whether the denouement does not follow too easily; whether any lapse of time would banish from the minds of the people among whom Fr. Phelan lives the memory of his priesthood. The presence of a suspended priest in my native district is one of my very early recollections as well as the scrupulous insistence of our elders on his priestly rank and character on all occasions. As for Mr. MacManus's style; I have only one quarrel with it in this book and that is his, I suppose, expressionistic treatment of the bells—which, with their meaningless " Wham and Bam," " Ding, Dong and Thum," not only intervene annoyingly between the reader and the author's arresting creation but are, to my thinking, at variance with the mood and the mode of the writing.

As " Scenes from Clerical Life " this book invites perhaps comparison with Bernanos, Canon Sheehan and others. Whilst it has not the penetrating power and intensity of the French novelist nor the scope and range of *My New Curate*, it can yet stand its own ground. Assessing it and assigning it its place as a literary form, I should be inclined to place it in the category of the story rather than the novel. It has a miniature character and is the study of an episode, one could almost say of a moment in the life of this old Bishop. The setting is carefully chosen; the threads are delicately handled. Fires are spent; there is no passion; neither is there any death of the heart. The mood is one of soliloquy, retrospection, vision and inspired decision. It is a muted music, save for the wretched bells. The end is in a garden among " swaying tulips " with only now and then " a swooping wind ". The Bishop's: *Tu es sacerdos* is answered by the old priest's: *In aeternum*—the only symbol of submission required of Fr. Phelan by Bishop Langton. A nearly perfect story. My congratulations to Mr. MacManus. Mary M. Macken

(The list of books received has been unavoidably held over).

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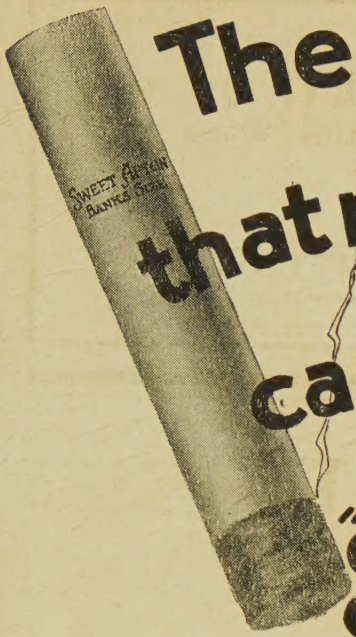

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